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THE LETTERS OF CICERO

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THE LETTERS OF
CICERO

THE WHOLE EXTANT CORRESPONDENCE
IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

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IN FOUR VOLUMES

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INTRODUCTION

THE letters in this volume (April, B.C. 51-June, B.C. 49) find Cicero on the point of starting to his province of Cilicia, in which he was to succeed Appius Claudius Puleher, the elder brother of his old enemy Publius Clodius. The circumstances in which he had been, against his will, constrained to undertake this duty, have been noticed in the introduction to the first volume. From the very first he disliked the idea of it, and especially shrank from a prolonged absence from Rome.

The district known as Cilicia is a narrow country between Mount Taurus and the sea, falling naturally into two divisions, near the city of Soli—on the west *Cilicia Aspera*, on the east *Cilicia Campestris*, separated from the province of Syria by Mount Amanus. The Romans had first been brought into connexion with Cilicia Aspera in their efforts to put down the piracy in the Eastern Mediterranean in the year B.C. 103. For some years it was a *provincia* in the sense of a military command, rather than an organized province. But this command was held by a number of able men who had gradually reduced it to the regular form of a Roman province, adding to it various neighbouring districts. Its extent and organized administration, as found by Cicero, dated from the Asian settlement of Pompey, after the Mithridatic war in B.C. 64. It now consisted of five parts, Cilicia, Aspera and Campestris, Pisidia, Isauria, Lycaonia. But to these had been added, temporarily, three “dioceses” in Phrygia—Laodicea, Apamea, and Synnada—and the island of Cyprus, after its reduction by Cato in B.C. 58. The province thus contained a population some of whom, not long before, had been addicted to piracy and brigandage. They had, indeed, been to a great extent civilized, or at any rate forced to refrain from their old way of life, by forty years of

Roman administration; but sudden returns to old habits were by no means unlikely or unknown, and the mountain district of Amanus especially contained robber tribes likely to cause trouble, and for victories over whom Cicero so long expected a triumph. His year of office, however, with this exception, passed off quietly. He had been alarmed when starting for it by the report that the Parthians—after their victory over Crassus in B.C. 53—were on the point of invading the neighbouring province of Syria, and might, if they succeeded there, attack his own province. Even if this latter did not happen, he would be bound, he thought, to go to the assistance of Bibulus in Syria, if he were hard pressed.

We shall see in the letters how these fears were falsified, and how—with the one exception of the short campaign on Amanus—Cicero was engaged mostly in the more peaceful duty of holding the assizes (*conventus*) in the head towns of the several districts in his province. The letters, however,

Cicero's Staff
and their Journey
to the Province.

give us the most detailed account we possess of the staff of a provincial governor, and of the conditions in which he and they performed their functions, and the pressure put upon them to use their powers in the interests of the rich men at Rome, who made their profit by provincial loans at exorbitant interest. Among such men we are rather surprised to find Pompey and M. Brutus, the latter being especially usurious and urgent. Cicero's staff consisted of four *legati*—his brother Quintus, L. Tullius, C. Pomptinus, who had been a prætor in Cicero's consulship, and had since distinguished him against the Allobroges, and Marcus Anneius; his quaestor, L. Mescinius Rufus; his secretary, M. Tullius; and the usual number of *praefecti* named by the proconsul, sometimes as a compliment and sometimes for actual service, and other officials such as interpreter, marshal, lictors, etc. He was also accompanied by his son and nephew, with their tutor, besides freedmen and slaves. Among the freedmen the chief place in his favour was held by Tiro, who afterwards collected and edited the letters. The progress of this large company lasted nearly three months. It included a stay of some ten days at Athens, where Cicero renewed his acquaintance with many of the philosophical professors, and

was ended, as far as sea voyaging was concerned, at Ephesus. The actual province was entered at Laodicea on the 31st of July, though deputations of various sorts met him at Ephesus with representations of certain grievances awaiting reform in Cilicia. It is a significant comment upon the heavy burden that these progresses inflicted on the provinces, that Cicero continually boasts of the fact that his staff were contented with the provision supplied by the exchequer, and made no requisition upon the towns through which they past, even to the extent allowed by the Julian law. Whether this was as completely the case as Cicero believed at the time, appears to have been somewhat more doubtful to him later on ; but there seems no question that, on the whole, his staff behaved well.

The letters from Cilicia are in some respects less interesting than those of an earlier and later period.

Letters to Appius Claudius. There are several very long ones to his predecessor, Appius Claudius, which an evident want of sincerity makes rather tiresome.

Appius had been an extortionate and oppressive governor : that Cicero shews in his confidential letters to Atticus to have been his opinion ; and he certainly interfered to prevent some of the cities from incurring the expense of sending laudatory embassies to Rome to support him in his claim of a triumph, and when accused of extortion by Dolabella. But for some reason or other Cicero was anxious to stand well with Appius, and these elaborate letters—which begin by expressing a sore feeling at Appius having avoided meeting him when entering the province—are devoted to explaining away his action as to the embassies, and reconciling it with his somewhat fulsome expressions of friendship. Later on he has also to explain away the fact that, just at the time that Dolabella was beginning the prosecution of Appius, he was married to Cicero's own daughter. The result is a number of letters evidently written under considerable embarrassment, and altogether wanting in sincerity or spontaneity. The same may be almost said of two of the three letters to Cato

Letters to Cato. (CCXXXVII and CCLXXXVII). The former of these is a very fine composition, and gives a graphic account of Cicero's proceedings ; but it is a state

paper rather than a private letter; and the latter is an elaborate attempt to conceal—what yet is plain in every line—Cicero's soreness at Cato's opposition to the *supplicatio*, which he had got his friends to propose in the senate on receipt of his despatch detailing his successes in Amanus. It is therefore stiff and frigid. The letters to ATTICUS of this period have many of the characteristics of the others, but they too seem to suffer from lack of interesting matter, and the imperfect communication with the centre of affairs at Rome. Endless reiteration of his desire that Atticus should exert his influence to prevent the extension of the proconsular government beyond his year, mixed with complacent accounts of his military achievements and the purity of his administration, rather pall after a time. But there is one very significant incident, fully detailed in Letters CCXLIX and CCLI, which throws a lurid light upon the transactions of capitalists at Rome, and the unscrupulous support which they often got from provincial governors.

When Cicero arrived in his province he heard that a certain Scaptius, holding office as *præfectus* under his predecessor Appius, had been at the affair of the Salaminians. Sclamis, in Cyprus, with a squadron of cavalry, which he had employed to coerce the town councillors to pay a large sum of money, with forty-eight per cent. interest, which had been lent them some years before. He had gone the length of shutting up the councillors in their council chamber so long, that some of them had actually died from starvation. Cicero immediately ordered the squadron of cavalry to quit Cyprus, and when applied to by Scaptius refused to appoint him a *præfectus*, on the ground that he had made it a rule not to appoint any man *præfectus* who was carrying on financial business within the province. He found, however, that Scaptius was being backed by M. Brutus, and for the sake of the latter he undertook to see that the Salaminians paid the amount of their just debt, but only with the legal (compound) interest at twelve per cent., to which he had declared in his "edict" that interest recoverable in his court was to be confined. The Salaminians offered that amount, which Scaptius refused. Cicero thereupon declined

to interfere any farther, and therefore Scaptius, not having now any official power at his back, could not get the money. But soon afterwards Cicero discovered, to his surprise, that the real creditor was M. Brutus himself, who all along had been writing in an arrogant and offensive tone. Cicero, however, stuck to his point: he would order the payment with twelve per cent. interest, but not with forty-eight per cent. Whether Atticus was unacquainted with the true facts, or was overawed by the high position of Brutus, at any rate he seems to have himself urged Cicero to gratify the latter. It is not a dignified position for Brutus, the philosopher and patriot.

But if Cicero's letters from his province are not quite up to some others in interest, one of his correspondents has left us some very lively and piquant descriptions of affairs at Rome during Cicero's absence. This is M. Cælius Rufus. He had promised to keep Cicero posted in all political and social affairs, and, to do so, had employed some clerks to collect and write out for his benefit a kind of gazette of news and scandals, which he supplemented by a good many letters of his own writing. As specimens of style and Latinity they do not reach a high standard, but as depicting the character of an unscrupulous man about town, who also had political ambitions and some cleverness—fairly representative of the younger men of the revolutionary period—they possess great value. M. CÆLIUS RUFUS, born in B.C. 82, the son of a rich *negociator*, had in early youth been placed by his father under the patronage of Cicero to acquire the knowledge of oratory and public affairs. After having also been in the province of Africa on the staff of Q. Pompeius Rufus (B.C. 61), he began to seek political advancement in the usual way, by prosecuting a prominent personage, C. Antonius, for connivance with Catiline and malversation in Macedonia, and secured his condemnation, though defended by Cicero himself. Thus Cælius, who had himself been a friend of Catiline's, and suspected of having been involved in his guilt, seems now to have taken sides with the Optimates. His official career begins with the quæstorship in B.C. 58 or 57, but he could go no farther till his tribuneship of B.C. 52, when he supported the cause of Milo. In the interval he

had been himself accused of *vis* by a certain Sempronius Atratinus, instigated, it is said, by the notorious Clodia, with whom he had long been maintaining an intrigue, but who now affirmed that he had attempted to poison her. Cicero's speech in his defence (B.C. 56) is extant. The vindication of his character there put forward contains an acknowledgment of his wild and licentious youth. But Cicero believed in his reformation and in his political ability, enjoyed his wit, his reckless daring, and his taste for literature, and looked forward to his support of the Optimates as likely to be of great value. The letters will best shew the character of the man, and how Cicero's expectations were deceived. When Cicero returned to Rome he found that Cælius had already made up his mind to take the side of Cæsar, openly avowing that in a civil war the only principle was to choose the stronger side. He was employed by Cæsar in North Italy and Spain in B.C. 49, from which countries he wrote, urging Cicero to follow his example. He was rewarded by the prætorship of B.C. 48. A single letter after that¹ (March, B.C. 48) foreshadows the catastrophe. Cælius had become disgusted with the Cæsarian party, in which he found that he was to play only a subordinate part. Gaius Trebonius was his superior as *prætor urbanus*, and the revolutionary programme, to which he had trusted for the relief of his embarrassments, was not being carried out. He tried to use his authority as prætor to relieve the debtors, who had received only partial relief under Cæsar's law, and when forcibly suspended from his office by the consul, he left Rome in hopes of stirring up the cities of Italy to a fresh revolution. There he acted for a while with Milo, who had ventured into Italy to secure by arms the *restitutio in integrum* which Cæsar had refused him. Both failed and both perished within a short time of each other. His name never occurs in the correspondence again.

When Cicero reached the walls of Rome on the 4th of January, B.C. 49, on his return from his province, the civil war was all but begun. He came, indeed, well knowing that Cæsar's demand—to hold his province and army till after his election to his second consulship—was threatening the

¹ Vol. iii., Letter CCCCVII.

blic peace. But his absence from Italy for a year and a half had prevented his having a clear grasp of the situation. He seems not to have realized how much Pompey's prestige had fallen, and how much Cæsar's position had improved. The Optimates—strong in rank and wealth, and, on the whole, in the character of their partisans—were talking loudly of coercing Cæsar if he resisted in arms: but they were divided, ill furnished with soldiers, and, as it turned out, without a leader capable of forcing them to submit to discipline and the surrender of private interests to those of the party. On the other side, Cæsar had a large army of tried veterans, devoted to him, and not (as his enemies fondly believed) disaffected and ready to leave him. He had accumulated vast wealth by the plunder of Gaul, and had used it to purchase the support of many men of ability at Rome. He had few scruples, and was prepared to take instant advantage of any opportunity given him by the mistakes of his opponents. Such an opportunity was presented to him, only three days after Cicero's arrival, by the forcible expulsion of the tribunes who vetoed his recall. He could now plead that he was entering Italy in defence of the constitutional rights of the tribunes; and he did so at once. Cicero at first had no hesitation in taking part with the magistrates against an invader of Italy. He accepted as his share in the defence the district of Capua and the shore of Campania. But in a few days this confidence was rudely shaken. Pompey left Rome, followed by the consuls and other magistrates: it became clear that Pompey had no plan ready, and no means of collecting an adequate force. Moreover, Cicero's own wish for a pacification between the two leaders was scouted by the so-called constitutional party, who, crowding Pompey's quarters at Luceria, talked loudly of another proscription and confiscation after the model of Sulla. Before long, while Cæsar was rapidly seizing the towns in Picenum, and taking over the garrisons commanded by Pompeian officers, Pompey himself had made his way to Brundisium, and shewed that he meant to abandon Italy, and trust to his influence in the East to collect a vast armament of men and ships, with which he would

return as a conqueror to Italy, to destroy the party of his enemy. He sailed from Brundisium on the 17th of March.

In these circumstances Cicero, who had soon resigned all active participation in the controversy, and ceased even nominally to command in Campania, went through months of painful hesitation and distress. Hardly any part of this correspondence is more painful to read. He was swayed by various motives—personal affection for Pompey, conviction that his was the patriotic side, sensitiveness as to what would be said of himself by the Optimates generally, and dread of his humiliating position if the Pompeians eventually triumphed—all these considerations were drawing him to Pompey, first at Brundisium, and afterwards in Epirus. On the other hand, he had strong motives for staying where he was. Among them—we must reluctantly confess—was downright fear of being on the losing side. If Cæsar would only fail, as he seemed for a moment to be doing in Rome and then in Spain, Cicero's duty would then be so clear! If Pompey had but shewn more resolution, and some intention and ability to stop Cæsar's victorious progress! There is no doubt that Cicero would have been glad enough to have taken the Pompeian side at once, if he had dared. At the same time he genuinely hated civil war, and clung to the hope that he might do something towards a pacification, though he did not commit himself too deeply. He was also honestly alarmed and disgusted by the "Lucerian talk" of the Pompeians—their threats of confiscation and proscription, of which he was constantly informed, and which contrasted badly with Cæsar's magnanimity to the members of the opposite party who fell into his hands. With constitutional right, joined to incompetence and cruelty, on the one side, and constitutional wrong, joined to ability, vigour, and actual clemency, on the other, which was he to choose? The violence of the constitutionalists might prove not to be mere bluster and talk: the leniency of Cæsar might be assumed for a time and might give place with success to violence and bloodshed. In either case what was there but ruin and disaster to expect? Torn by these conflicting considerations Cicero spent nearly six unhappy months at his seaside villas. One thing he did resolve upon and stick to—he would not give the sanction of his presence in the senate, in spite of Cæsar's

persuasions, urged personally in an interview on the 28th of March (see p. 353). Still through April and May he continued to be torn by the same doubts, the same balancing of duty and fear. Sardinia and Sicily were already in the hands of the Cæsarians; Cæsar's hold on the West now depended on his success in Spain and in the siege of Marseilles. Accordingly, Cicero waits eagerly for news from Spain to decide him whether he can safely join Pompey in Epirus. Another alternative, that of retiring to Malta or some place remote from the war, was not, I think, ever seriously entertained by him, though often mentioned. It is not till June that he finally decides on going to Pompey. The last letter which we have on this subject is dated the 19th of May, in which he is still undecided. On the 7th of June he starts. What had decided him in that interval? We cannot be sure: but it seems to coincide with Cæsar's difficulties on the Segre near Ilerda, which we know were made much of at Rome, and were followed by the crossing of many waverers to Pompey's camp.¹ Three years afterwards, when writing an account of this to a friend (CCCCCLXXXVI, *ad Fam.* vi. 6), he says that he "went with his eyes open to a ruin which he clearly foresaw, overpowered by the feeling of duty, or, if you will, by regard for the remarks of the *boni*, or pure shame." He says nothing of Cæsar's danger. But we have to reflect that the motives which he mentions had been equally in existence during all the previous months, and something is required to account for the somewhat sudden resolution at the end. Of course, in a time of such disruption, hesitation was natural. As M. Boissier says: "Questions do not present themselves to the eyes of contemporaries with the same clearness as to those of posterity." We cannot wonder at Cicero having hesitated: but the process of throwing dust in the eyes of both parties till he has made up his mind does not make pleasant reading. The third volume of these letters will find Cicero, after taking the plunge, by no means satisfied with the result. All his worst fears as to the state of things in Pompey's

¹ Cæsar, *B. C.* i. 53. The fall of Curio in Africa, and the consequent hold of the Pompeians on that province, did not occur till two months later.

camp were confirmed, and all his hopes of Cæsar's failure in Spain falsified; and after Pharsalia we have to follow him again through another year of doubt and distress. Truly the paths of the double-minded are hard.

CICERO'S LETTERS

CLXXXII (F III, 2)

From May in this year Cicero was absent from Italy till November, B.C. 50, as proconsul of Cilicia—which, to his chagrin, he was obliged to undertake owing to the regulation in Pompey's law (*de provinciis*) of the previous year enforcing a five years' interval between consulship or prætorship and a province, and providing for the interim by drawing on the ex-consuls and ex-prætors of previous years who had not had provinces. He is informed by letters of what is going on in Rome, where the burning question was, should Cæsar stay in Gaul till consul-designate for B.C. 48, or come home to stand for the consulship as a private citizen? From the necessity of making his *professio* in person Cæsar had been by name exempted in Pompey's law, but the senate nevertheless (or a party in it) hoped to make him do so by its authority, and Pompey played fast and loose with the question, though gradually coming round to the side of the senate. Cæsar believed that he could not safely come home as a *privatus*, as his enemies would ruin him by a prosecution. There are no speeches or writings during this year.

TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER (IN CILICIA)

ROME (BEFORE MAY)

THOUGH, contrary to my own wishes, and to my surprise, it has turned out that I am obliged to go to a province with *imperium*, in the midst of many various anxieties and reflexions one consolation occurs to me, that you could have no more friendly successor than I am to you, nor I take over a province from anyone more inclined to hand it over in good order and free from difficulties. And if you, too, entertain the same expectation as to my goodwill towards you, you will certainly never find yourself mistaken. In the name of our intimate union and of your own extraordinary kindness, I again and again beg and beseech you most earnestly, in whatever particulars shall lie in your power—and there are very many in which you will be able to do so—to provide and

take measures for my interests. You see that by the decree of the senate I am forced to take a province. If you will, as far as you have the power, hand it over to me as free as possible from difficulties, you will greatly facilitate what I may call the running of my official course. What it may be in your power to do in that direction I leave to you: I confine myself to earnestly begging you to do what occurs to you as being in my interest. I would have written at greater length to you, had either such kindness as yours looked for a longer address, or the friendship between us admitted of it, or had it not been that the matter spoke for itself and required no words. I would have you convinced of this—that if I shall be made aware that my interests have been consulted by you, you will yourself receive from that circumstance a great and abiding satisfaction. [Farewell.]

CLXXXIII (A v, 1)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

MINTURNÆ, MAY

YES, I saw well enough what your feelings were as I parted from you; what mine were I am my own witness. This makes it all the more incumbent on you to prevent an additional decree being passed, so that this mutual regret of ours may not last more than a year. As to Annius Satur, ninus, your measures are excellent. As to the guarantee, pray, during your stay at Rome, give it yourself. You will find several guarantees on purchase, such as those of the estates of Memmius, or rather of Attilius. As to Oppius, that is exactly what I wished, and especially your having engaged to pay him the 800 sester tia (about £6,400), which I am determined shall be paid in any case, even if I have to borrow to do so, rather than wait for the last day of getting in my own debts.¹

¹ These brief sentences are in answer to statements in the letter of Atticus which Cicero is answering. In the absence of that letter and

I now come to that last line of your letter written crossways, in which you give me a word of caution about your sister.¹ The facts of the matter are these. On arriving at my place at Arpinum, my brother came to see me, and our first subject of conversation was yourself, and we discussed it at great length. After this I brought the conversation round to what you and I had discussed at Tusculum, on the subject of your sister. I never saw anything so gentle and placable as my brother was on that occasion in regard to your sister: so much so, indeed, that if there had been any cause of quarrel on the score of expense, it was not apparent. So much for that day. Next day we started from Arpinum. A country festival caused Quintus to stop at Arcanum; I stopped at Aquinum; but we lunched at Arcanum.² You know his property there. When we got there Quintus said, in the kindest manner, "Pomponia, do you ask the ladies in; I will invite the men."³ Nothing, as I thought, could be more courteous, and that, too, not only in the actual words, but also in his intention and the expression of face. But she, in the hearing of us all, exclaimed, "I am only a stranger here!" The origin of that was, as I think, the fact that

of any knowledge of the business referred to, we cannot fully explain them. The *satisfactio* may refer either to a purchase or a sale on Cicero's part: if the former case, it means a security for payment of the purchase money, either in the shape of a deposit or otherwise; in the latter, a guarantee of title. Annius Saturninus is presumed to be a freedman of Annius Milo's, with whom Cicero may have had dealings for his patron. The "*satisfactiones* of the Memmian or Attilian estates" are quoted as models; they may refer to the sales of the property of C. Memmius, condemned for *ambitus* in B.C. 54 (*Q. Fr.* iii. 2; iii. 8), or of Sex. Attilius Serranus (tr. pl. B.C. 57), of whose sale we know nothing. Oppius is probably C. Oppius, a friend and agent of Cæsar, and the debt Cicero is determined to pay is a loan from Cæsar. The word *aperuisti* is peculiar; it is said to mean in regard to money, "to promise to pay" or "to put at a man's order." In Letter CLXXXVI he expresses the same meaning by *exposuisti*.

¹ Pomponia, wife of Quintus Cicero.

² Cicero had gone round by Arpinum, either to visit his own villa or to pick up Quintus (who was going with him as *legatus* to Cilicia). They then went on to the *via Latina* by a cross road. Cicero stayed a night at Aquinum before going by another cross road to Minturnæ, on the *via Appia*. Quintus, however, stopped at his own villa of Arcanum, between Arpinum and Minturnæ, where they both stopped for the *prandium*, the midday meal.

³ Reading (with Tyrrell) *viros* for *pueros*.

Staius had preceded us to look after the luncheon. Thereupon Quintus said to me, "There, that's what I have to put up with every day!" You will say, "Well, what does that amount to?" A great deal; and, indeed, she had irritated even me: her answer had been given with such unnecessary acrimony, both of word and look. I concealed my annoyance. We all took our places at table except her. However, Quintus sent her dishes from the table, which she declined. In short, I thought I never saw anything better-tempered than my brother, or crosser than your sister: and there were many particulars which I omit that raised my bile more than they did that of Quintus himself. I then went on to Aquinum; Quintus stopped at Arcanum, and joined me early the next day at Aquinum. He told me that she had refused to sleep with him, and when on the point of leaving, she behaved just as I had seen her.¹ Need I say more? You may tell her herself that in my judgment she shewed a marked want of kindness on that day. I have told you this story at greater length, perhaps, than was necessary, to convince you that you, too, have something to do in the way of giving her instruction and advice.

There only remains for me to beg you to complete all my commissions before leaving town; to give Pomptinus² a push, and make him start; to let me know as soon as you have left town, and to believe that, by heaven, there is nothing I love and find more pleasure in than yourself. I said a most affectionate good-bye to that best of men, A. Torquatus, at Minturnæ, to whom I wish you would remark, in the course of conversation, that I have mentioned him in my letter.

¹ Pomponia was not going to Cilicia with Quintus. She had come with him as far as Arcanum, and went back to Arpinum.

² C. Pomptinus, prætor during Cicero's consulship, was now one of his four *legati*. He had military experience in a campaign against the Allobroges, and Cicero was anxious that he should join him promptly.

CLXXXIV (A V, 2)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

POMPEII, 10 MAY

ON the 10th of May, the date of this letter, I am about to start from my Pompeian villa, intending to stay to-night with Pontius¹ in his villa near Trebula. After that I mean to make regular days' journeys without any farther delay.² While in my Cuman villa I was much gratified by a visit from our friend Hortensius.³ When he asked me whether he could do anything for me, I answered in general terms about everything else; but I begged him in particular to prevent, as far as in him lay, any extension of my provincial government. In this please confirm him, and tell him that I was much gratified by his visit, and by his promise to do this for me, and anything else I wanted besides. I have strongly urged the same on our friend Furnius, who, I see, will be a tribune for next year.⁴ I had a kind of miniature Rome in my Cuman villa: there was such a crowd of people in the neighbourhood.⁵ In the midst of all this our friend "Rufio," seeing that he was being watched by Vestorius, tricked that gentleman by a *ruse de guerre*. For he never came near me. "What!" you will say, "when Hortensius

¹ L. Pontius Aquila, who afterwards lost his life in the campaign at Mutina (B.C. 43). We shall find Cicero staying there again, as well as Terentia.

² Cicero was going to Brundisium by the *Appia*, but both his visit to his Pompeian villa and this other to Pontius in the *Trebulanus ager* were considerable deviations from it, one to the south, the other to the north.

³ The last time Cicero ever saw his great rival in the law courts, with, as well as against, whom he had so often pleaded. Hortensius died just as Cicero was returning from Cilicia.

⁴ That is, he would enter on his office 10th December of the present year, and so would have a voice in the senate as to the arrangements of the provinces.

⁵ April and May were the fashionable months, the season, for the Campanian coast.

came, in spite of being in weak health and living at such a distance and being the great Hortensius, and such a crowd of people besides—do you mean to say that *he* didn't come? So you didn't see the fellow at all?" How could I help seeing him, when my road lay through the mart of Puteoli? There as he was, I presume, doing some business, I said "How d'ye do?" to him; and on a later occasion I bade him good-bye when he came out of his own villa and asked me whether he could do anything for me. A man like that is one to reckon ungrateful? Doesn't he rather deserve commendation for not exerting himself to get a hearing?¹

But to return to my subject. Do not imagine that anything can console me for this gigantic bore, except the hope that it will not last longer than a year. Many will not believe me in this, because they judge from the habit of others. You, who know the truth, pray use every exertion; I mean, when the time comes for the question to be mooted. As soon as you return from Epirus, I beg you to write about public affairs and tell me anything you may detect. For satisfactory intelligence has not reached as far as this as to how Cæsar took the senatorial resolution being written out;² and there was also a rumour about the Transpadani, that they had been bidden to elect *quattuorviri*.³ If that is the case I fear some great disturbances. But I shall learn something from Pompey.

¹ Of this sort of episode, or jesting anecdote, it is difficult to see the point without fuller knowledge of the circumstances. We learn from Letter CCXXIII that C. Sempronius Rufus (whose name Cicero jestingly alters to the servile one of Rufio) had some controversy with Vestorius as to money which he owed him, or property which he held, as Vestorius alleged, illegally. He therefore avoided any meeting, and Cicero hints laughingly that it was a kindness to him (Cicero), as it saved him from the necessity of hearing the case as arbitrator.

² If a decree was passed in the senate but vetoed by a tribune, it was called not a *senatus consultum*, but an *auctoritas*; if the senate determined to put their resolution on record, it was written out (*perscripta*), otherwise it dropped altogether. In Letter CCXXII there is a specimen of such an *auctoritas*. This referred, like those we shall hear of later, to a resolution of the senate that Cæsar should resign his province before standing for the consulship, moved by the consul Marcellus.

³ That is, that the towns north of the Padus should become *municipia*, i.e., have the full Roman *civitas*, whereas they at present had only the *ius Latii*. This was the first measure carried by Cæsar on his election

CLXXXV (A V, 3)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

THE TREBULANUM OF PONTIUS, 11 MAY

ON the 10th of May I arrived at his Trebullanum to stay with Pontius. There two letters from you were delivered to me, dated two days before. On that same day, as I was leaving my Pompeian villa, I had delivered a letter for you to Philotimus; nor have I at present anything to write about. Write me word what reports there are about politics, I beseech you. For in the towns I observe that there is much alarm, yet for the most part it is mere idle gossip. What you think about all this, and when the crisis will come, please let me know. What letter it is you want answered I don't know: for I have as yet received none except the two delivered to me at Trebullanum, of which the one contained the edict of P. Licinius,¹ dated 7th May, the other an answer to mine from Minturnæ. How uneasy I feel, lest there should have been something more important than usual in the one which I haven't received, and to which you want an answer! With Lentulus I will bring you into favour. I like Dionysius much. Your Nicanor serves me excellently. Well, I have nothing more to say, and day is breaking. I think of going to Beneventum to-day. By disinterested conduct and attention to business I shall take care to satisfy all concerned.

At the house of Pontius, Trebullanum, 11 May.

to the consulship at the end of B.C. 49. *Quattuorviri* were the regular annual magistrates of a *municipium*, *duoviri* of a *colonia*.

¹ P. Licinius Crassus Dives, a jurisconsult who had governed Asia, and whose "edict" Cicero perhaps wanted as a model.

CLXXXVI (A V, 4)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

BENEVENTUM, 12 MAY

I ARRIVED at Beneventum on the 11th of May. There I received the letter which in your previous letter (answered by me the same day from Pontius's Trebullanum) you had mentioned having sent. And, indeed, I have received two letters from you at Beneventum, one delivered to me by Funisulanus early in the morning, and a second handed to me by my secretary Tullius. I am much obliged by the pains you have taken about my first and most important commission: but your leaving town rather damps my hopes.

As to the man you mention, I am coming round in that direction, not that —, but we are forced to be content with him for want of a better. About the other one, of whom you say that he appeared to you to be not unsuitable—I am afraid my daughter could not be persuaded, and you admit that there is not a pin to choose between them. For my part, I am not unreasonable; but you will be away, and will not, therefore, have a hand in the business in my absence. For if either of us were on the spot, some fairly satisfactory arrangement might be made with Servius, with Servilia to back him. As at present situated, even though it should be a thing I like, I don't see how I can *do* anything.¹

Now I come to the letter delivered to me by Tullius.

¹ This paragraph refers to the selection of a husband for Tullia. She had been left a widow in B.C. 57 by the death of C. Calpurnius Piso, and her betrothal to Furius Crassipes (B.C. 56) had either not ended in a marriage, or the marriage had been quickly dissolved. The two suitors now under consideration are P. Cornelius Dolabella and Servius Sulpicius Rufus. I have translated Schütz's text, *nec me absente habebis rei rationem* and *Servio fieri probabile*. Professor Tyrrell's emendations seem to me to be very difficult. I take the meaning to be that Cicero thinks that Sulpicius might "do," with Servilia's support; perhaps because something good might be got for him from Cæsar (her reputed lover), though he is himself inclining to Dolabella, and is uneasy at the negotiations going on when neither himself nor Atticus is in Rome. Atticus was a great friend of Servilia.

You have been very energetic about Marcellus. Accordingly, if the decree has passed the senate, please write me word: but if not, do your best to get the business through; for a grant must be made to me, as also to Bibulus.¹ I have no doubt of the decree of the senate being passed without difficulty, especially considering that it is a gain to the people. As to Torquatus, excellent! As to Mason and Ligur, that will do when they have come, As to the request of Chærippus: since in this case also you have given me no "tip,"² . . . "Bother your province! Must I look after him too?" Yes; but only so far as to prevent there being any obstructive "debate!" or "count!" in the senate.³ For as to the rest——, however, thank you for speaking to Scrofa.⁴ As to what you say about Pomptinus, I quite agree. For the upshot is that, if he is going to be at Brundisium before the 1st of June, M. Annius and L. Tullius⁵ need not have been so much hurried. As to what you have heard from Sicinius,⁶

¹ Bibulus, like Cicero, had not taken a province after his consulship, and was now, in consequence of Pompey's law and the decree of the senate, forced to draw lots for one. Syria had fallen to him, where there were rumours of a Parthian invasion. There is no need, I think, to read *alteram* before *conficies* (with Tyrrell): the additional troops and the money grant might be included in one decree. The former had been discussed before Cicero left Rome, and practically assented to; but the consul Sulpicius had made difficulties, and Cicero is afraid that outside influence may have been brought to bear upon senators against it.

² *πρόσνευσιν*, "a nod," to shew your wish. Chærippus had been with Quintus, and was afterwards in Africa with Cornificius. He was probably a Greek secretary.

³ If the magistrate chose he could put a question to the senate to be voted on without debate. Such business would be usually non-contentious or routine. If the senators, however, thought otherwise, they cried "Consule," i.e., ask the opinions (*sententie*) of the members. If he gave way, speeches might follow, and the matter would be prolonged perhaps beyond several sittings (which always ended at sunset). The cry of "count" was like that in the House of Commons, demanding that those present should be counted, to see whether there was a quorum. We do not know what that quorum was, except in certain special cases, but that a fixed number is mentioned in them (e.g., the decree *de Bacchanalibus*) seems to shew that business was often done with less.

⁴ Cn. Tremellius Scrofa, who had been a judex in the Verres case, seems to have been with Cicero for a time in Cilicia.

⁵ Three of Cicero's four *legati*, the fourth being his brother Quintus.

⁶ Some provision in the edict which Cicero meant to publish in his province.

I quite assent, provided only that this restriction does not apply to anyone who has done me a service. But I will turn the matter over, for I quite approve of it in principle. I will let you know what I have settled as to the plan of my journey, and also what Pompey means to do about the five prefects, when I have learnt it from himself. As to Oppius, you have acted quite rightly in having assured him of the 800 sester tia; and since you have Philotimus¹ with you, pray see the business through; examine the account, and, as you love me, settle it before leaving town.² You will have relieved me of a great anxiety.

Now I have answered all your letter: but stay! I almost omitted your being short of paper. The loss is mine, if for lack of it your letter to me is curtailed. Why, you cost me a couple of hundred sesterces:³ though how stingy I am in this particular the cramped nature of this page shews you: while in return I expect from you a gazette of events, rumours, or even anything you know for certain about Cæsar.⁴ Be sure you give a letter to Pomptinus, as well as to others, on every imaginable topic.

¹ A freedman of Terentia's, who seems to have managed her business affairs for her.

² The debt to Cæsar. See Letter CLXXXIII.

³ Two hundred *sestertii* (about £1 10s.). Others read *sexcentas*, i.e., *chartas*. I have ventured to read *aufers*, instead of the common *aufer*, from which I think no satisfactory sense can be elicited. Cicero, in answer to Atticus's remark that he hadn't a good stock of paper by him, says jestingly that he is sorry he is so hard up, but he is the same, for his letters to Atticus put him to great expense in paper. He (according to my interpretation) alludes to the jest again at the end of Letter CXCI, where see note, p. 32. *Aufferre*, "swallow up," "absorb"; cp. 1 *Verr.* § 31, *hi ludi dies xvi auferunt*.

⁴ Therefore, he implies, how much greater must your expenditure on paper be.

CLXXXVII (A V, 5)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

VENUSIA, 15 MAY

I HAVE absolutely nothing to say. I have neither any commission for you, for everything has been arranged, nor anything to relate, for nothing has happened, nor is there any room for jesting, considering my numerous anxieties. Let me only tell you that I despatch this letter on the 15th of May as I am starting from Venusia. Now on this day I feel sure something has been done in the senate.¹ Therefore let a letter from you follow us, to inform us not only of all actual facts, but of common reports also. I shall get it at Brundisium. For it is there that my plan is to await Pomptinus up to the day you mentioned in your letter.² I will write out for your perusal the conversations I have with Pompey at Tarentum on the state of the Republic; although I wish to know precisely up to what time I can write to you safely, that is, how long you are going to be in Rome, so that I may know either where to direct my letters henceforth, or how to avoid sending them to no purpose. But before you leave town, in any case let the payment of the 20 sester tia and the 800 sester tia be put straight.³ I beg you to look upon this as of all concerns the most important and most urgent, viz., that I should complete with your assistance what I began on your advice.

¹ The Ides of each month were one of the regular meeting days of the senate.

² *I.e.*, the 1st of June (p. 9).

³ The debt to Cæsar, but this is the first time we hear of the smaller sum (20 *sestertia*). It is suggested that it is the interest due. The three words he uses in connexion with it—*aperuisti, exposuisti, explicatum sit*—are certainly odd. I do not feel satisfied by the expedient of inserting a *de* after them. They have the look of technical business expressions. See pp. 3 and 10.

CLXXXVIII (A V, 6)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TARENTUM, 18 MAY

I ARRIVED at Tarentum on the 18th of May. As I had determined to wait for Pomptinus, I thought the most convenient thing was to spend those days in Pompey's society, and all the more because I saw that it gave him pleasure, for he has actually begged me to give him my company, and be at his house every day; and this I have gladly agreed to do. For I shall get many notable talks with him on the Republic, and I shall also be furnished with useful hints for this business of mine.¹ But I begin now to be briefer in writing to you, because I am doubtful as to whether you have yet started from Rome. However, during my uncertainty as to that, I shall write something rather than allow of no letter from me reaching you as long as it is possible for it to do so. And yet I have no commission to give you, or anything to tell you. I have given you all my commissions, and I pray you carry them fully out in accordance with your promise: I will tell you any news I hear. There is one thing I shall not cease to urge as long as I think you are in town, namely, as to the debt to Cæsar, that you will leave it settled and done with. I am eagerly looking for a letter from you, and especially that I may know when you go out of town.

¹ The government of Cilicia, with which Pompey had much to do during his war with the pirates.

CLXXXIX (A V, 7)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TARENTUM, 21 MAY

DAY after day, or rather more and more as the days go on, I send you shorter letters. For day after day I become more suspicious of your having started for Epirus. However, to prove to you that I have not neglected what you wrote to me about, I am informed by Pompey that he intends to appoint five new prefects¹ for each of the Spains, in order to exempt them from serving on juries. For myself, after having spent three days with Pompey, and in his house, I am starting for Brundisium on the 21st of May. In him I am quitting a noble citizen, and one most thoroughly well-prepared to ward off the dangers which are at present causing us such alarm. I shall look forward to a letter from you to tell me both what you are doing and where you are.

CXC (F III, 3)

TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER (IN CILICIA)

BRUNDISIUM, 24 MAY

UPON my arrival at Brundisium on the 22nd of May, your legate Q. Fabius Vergilianus was awaiting me, and by your

¹ See Letter CLXXXVI. The *praefecti fabrum, socium*, etc., were nominated by the commander-in-chief, *i.e.*, the consul, in the Roman army. Later on it became the practice for a proconsul to a province to nominate a certain number of *praefecti*, with such duties, judicial or other, as he chose to give them. Sometimes, as in this instance perhaps, the office was honorary. Under the empire the name was extended to a large number of officials. Atticus seems to have had somebody whom he wished to recommend to Pompey.

direction put before me what had already occurred, not to me, whom it chiefly concerned, but to the whole senate—that the province you are holding required a stronger garrison. In fact, nearly all the senators expressed themselves in favour of a reinforcement being enlisted in Italy for my legions and those of Bibulus. Upon Sulpicius declaring that he would not allow that measure, we protested indeed at great length, but so unanimous was the wish of the senate for our early start, that we were obliged to conform to it ; and we did so accordingly. As things are now, I beg you, as I did in the letter I gave to your letter-carriers at Rome, that you will make it your object, in consideration of the very intimate union of our sentiments, to bestow attention and care on those details wherein an out-going provincial governor can consult for the advantage of a successor, who is joined to him by the closest ties of interest and affection ; so that the whole world may see that I could not have succeeded anyone more kindly disposed to me, nor you have handed over the province to a warmer friend.

From the despatch intended to be read in the senate, of which you have sent me a copy, I had gathered that a large number of soldiers had been dismissed by you ; but this same Fabius has pointed out that you had thought of doing so, but at the moment of his leaving you, the number of soldiers was still intact. If that is so, you will be doing me a very great favour if you make as small a reduction as possible in the scanty forces you already have : and I imagine that the decrees of the senate passed on this subject have been sent to you. For myself, so highly do I esteem you, that I shall approve of whatever you have done ; but I feel confident that you also will do what you will perceive to be most in my interest. I am waiting for my legate C. Pomptinus at Brundisium, and I presume that he will arrive there before the 1st of June. And as soon as he has come I shall avail myself of the first opportunity of sailing that is offered me.

CXCI (F VIII, 1)

M. CÆLIUS RUFUS¹ TO CICERO (ON HIS
JOURNEY TO CILICIA)

ROME, 24 MAY-1 JUNE

As I promised you on the eve of your departure² to write a full and careful account of all that went on in the city, I have taken pains to secure a man to describe everything so fully, that I fear his industry in this respect may appear to you somewhat overdone. Although you know your own curiosity, and how men abroad delight in being informed of even the most insignificant things that are going on at home, still in this point I must ask you for a favourable construction—that you should not hold me guilty of giving myself airs in thus performing the duty, because I have delegated this task to another. Not at all because it was not the most delightful thing possible to me—busy as I am and, as you know, the laziest man in the world at writing letters—to keep my memory of you fresh: but the size of the packet itself, which I am sending you, will, in my opinion, easily plead my excuse. It would have required considerable leisure not only to copy out all these details, but even to take notice of

¹ Cicero's correspondent while in Cilicia, M. Cælius Rufus, was a young man still, and had been rendered notorious by his long intrigue with Clodia, who, when she quarrelled with him, accused him of attempting to poison her. He was brought to trial *de vi*, in B.C. 56, by L. Sempronius Atratinus, whose father he had himself accused of bribery; and among the counts against him was his connexion with Clodia and his attempt on her life. An interesting essay on this brilliant, though dissolute person, will be found in Boissier's *Cicéron et ses Amis*. He ended his life disastrously: adhering to Cæsar in the Civil War, he was prætor in B.C. 48, but in Cæsar's absence in Egypt he attempted to secure popularity by opposing his law for relieving financial distress, and after many conflicts with Antony, fled from Rome to join Milo, who was attempting to force his own recall, and was killed. Cicero's defence of him on the accusation of Atratinus is extant.

² Not "on leaving town," for Cælius evidently accompanied Cicero to Campania or met him there.

them: for the packet contains all the decrees of the senate, edicts, gossip, and reports. If this specimen does not meet your wishes, let me know, that I may not spend money only to bore you. If anything of unusual importance occurs in public business, which these clerks cannot easily get at, I will myself carefully write you an account of how it was done, what was thought of it, and what is expected to be its result. For the present there is nothing which causes much anticipation. For those rumours as to the admission of the Transpadani to the *comitia* died out after reaching Cumæ:¹ when I got to Rome I didn't find that there was the slightest whisper about it. Besides, Marcellus has not as yet brought before the senate the subject of a successor to the Gallic provinces,² and has (as he told me himself) postponed that motion to the 1st of June. He has gone far to bring up again the talk about him which was prevalent when we were in Rome.³ But pray if, as you wished to do, you have found Pompey at home,⁴ write me a full account of what you thought of him, what he said to you, and what wishes he professed to entertain—for he is accustomed to think one thing and say another, and yet is not clever enough to conceal his real aims. As to Cæsar, there are frequent and rather ugly reports—at any rate, people keep arriving with mysterious whispers: one says that he has lost his cavalry, which, in my opinion, is without doubt an invention: another says that the seventh legion has had a drubbing, that he himself is besieged among the Bellovaci,⁵ and cut off from

¹ See Letter CLXXXIV, p. 6.

² Cæsar's ten years' government of this province would be over in March, B.C. 48; but if he was to stand for the consulship for that year in the usual way, he must come home in July, B.C. 49. Cæsar maintained that by the clause in Pompey's law he was authorized to stay in his province and be elected in his absence, and so would only return to Rome at the end of B.C. 49 to take up his consulship. Thus he complains that a resolution of the senate compelling him to come home in July, B.C. 49, would deprive him "of a six months' *imperium* bestowed on him by the people" (Cæs. B. C. i. 9).

³ That Marcellus was weak and irresolute. *Expressit* is not the word Cicero would have used. It is a slang use of the word which means (1) to squeeze out, (2) to describe, to exhibit.

⁴ See Letters CLXXXVIII, CLXXXIX, pp. 12, 13.

⁵ Cæsar's serious struggle with the Bellovaci (round Beauvais, in Normandy) is described in Hirtius's continuation of Cæsar's comment-

his main army. But neither is there anything known for certain as yet, nor are even these uncertain rumours publicly bruited abroad after all—they are mentioned as open secrets among the small clique with which you are acquainted; but Domitius, with his finger on his lips, hints at them. On the 24th of May, the *quidnuncs* of the rostra, confound them! spread a loud report that you had been assassinated on your journey by Q. Pompeius.¹ Since I happened to know that Q. Pompeius was dieting himself² at Bauli, and was fasting to such an extent that I was sorry for him, I was not agitated, and I only wished that we might compound by this lie for all dangers that might be threatening you. Your friend Plancus, for his part, is at Ravenna, and though he has been presented with a large *douceur* by Cæsar, he is neither wealthy nor well set up. Your books on the Republic are in universal vogue.³

CXCII (A V, 8)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

BRUNDISIUM, 1-JUNE

INDIFFERENT health, from which I have now recovered (for though ill, I had no fever), as well as waiting for Pomptinus, of whom as yet no rumour even has reached me, have kept me for these twelve days at Brundisium; but I am looking out for an opportunity to set sail. Now if you are still at Rome—for I scarcely think you can be—but if you are, I am very anxious

aries, *B. G.* viii. 6-22. A slight cavalry disaster, which may have given rise to the reported loss of the cavalry, is described in ch. 12. Cæsar invaded the Bellovaci with the 7th, 8th, and 9th legions, but at one time he was at any rate in a sufficiently difficult position to make it necessary for him to send for another legion, the 13th (*B. G.* viii. 8-11.)

¹ Q. Pompeius Rufus, tribune in B.C. 52, afterwards condemned for his promotion of the riots connected with the burning of Clodius's body and the destruction of the Curia.

² Reading *πεινητικῶν* *facere*.

³ The *de Republica* was begun in B.C. 54, and probably published before Cicero left Rome in B.C. 51.

~ II.

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that you should give your attention to the following. In a letter received from Rome I am informed that my friend Milo writes to complain of my having ill-treated him in allowing Philotimus to have a share in the purchase of his property. I decided on that measure in accordance with the opinion of C. Duronius,¹ whom I had had reason to believe exceedingly friendly to Milo, and whom I knew to be the sort of man you judge him to be. Now his object and mine too was this: first, that the property should remain under our control—lest some outsider, making the purchase at a high price, should deprive him of the slaves, a great number of which he had with him; secondly, that the settlement he had made upon Fausta should be respected.² There was the farther motive, that we should ourselves have less difficulty than anyone else in saving anything that could be saved. Now I would have you look thoroughly into the whole affair: for I am frequently having letters on it written in exaggerated terms. If he complains, if he writes about it to his friends, and if Fausta takes the same line, as I told Philotimus by word of mouth, and as he undertook to do, I would not have him take part in the purchase against the will of Milo. It would not be in the least worth our while. But if there is nothing in all this, you will decide the matter. Speak with Duronius. I have written also to Camillus and Lamia,³ and the more so because I did not feel confident of your being in Rome. The long and short of the whole thing

¹ A friend of Milo, otherwise unknown.

² After condemnation involving a forfeiture of a man's property, the whole was usually purchased for a fixed sum by one or more persons (*sectores*), who then disposed of it by auction and made what profit they could. A man who had rich friends might save a wreck of it, (1) if they chose to purchase, returning him the balance made by the sale; (2) or sold enough of it to pay the price which they had bargained to pay the treasury, not exacting the surrender of personalty, slaves, etc., or at any rate taking only a moderate profit. This is what Cicero seems to mean that Philotimus (a freedman of Terentia's) was, with others, going to do in this case. Again, it was customary for a man receiving a dowry with his wife to give security for its repayment in case of divorce or death; such a security was usually respected in case of confiscation, the property being sold with that burden on it, though this payment was at times evaded, as in the case of the confiscations of the triumvirs in B.C. 42 (Dio Cass. xlvii. 14). See Letter LXI.

³ C. Furius Camillus was a lawyer specially skilled in property law

is this: decide as shall seem to you to be in accordance with my honour, good name, and interests.

CXCIII (F III, 4)

TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER (IN CILICIA)

BRUNDISIUM, 5 JUNE

ON the 4th of June, being at Brundisium, I received your letter stating that you had instructed L. Clodius with what you wished him to say to me. I am much looking forward to his arrival, that I may learn at the earliest possible moment the message he is bringing from you. My warm feeling and readiness to serve you, though I hope they are already known to you by many instances, I shall yet manifest in those circumstances above all others, in which I shall be able to give the most decisive proof that no one's reputation and position is dearer to me than yours. On your side, both Q. Fabius Vergilianus and C. Flaccus, son of Lucius, and—in stronger terms than anyone else—M. Octavius, son of Gneius, have shewed me that I am highly valued by you. This I had already judged to be the case on many grounds, but above all from that book on Augural Law, of which, with its most affectionate dedication, you have made me a most delightful present. On my part, all the services which belong to the closest relationship shall be ever at your command. For ever since you began feeling attachment to me, I have learnt daily to value you more highly, and now there has been added to that my intimacy with your relations—for there are two of them of different ages whom I value very highly, Cn. Pompeius, father-in-law of your daughter, and M. Brutus, your son-in-law¹—and, lastly, the membership

(*ad Fam.* v. 20); Ælius Lamia is probably a lawyer also, but of him we know nothing.

¹ Cn. Pompeius, elder son of Cn. Pompeius Magnus, married a daughter of Appius Claudius. M. Brutus married, first, Claudia, daughter

of the same college, especially as that has been stamped by such a complimentary expression of your approval,¹ seems to me to have supplied a bond of no ordinary strength towards securing a union of feeling between us. But I shall not only, if I come across Clodius, write you at greater length after talking with him, but shall also take pains myself to see you as soon as possible. Your saying that your motive for staying in the province was the hope of having an interview with me, to tell you the honest truth, is very agreeable to me.

CXCIV (A V, 9)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ON THE ROAD TO ATHENS, 15 JUNE

I ARRIVED at Actium on the 14th of June, after having feasted like priests of Mars both at Corcyra and the Sybota Islands, owing to your presents, which Areus as well as my friend Eutychides had prepared for us with lavish profusion and the utmost kindness.² From Actium I preferred to journey by land, considering the unpleasant voyage we had had, and I did not like the idea of rounding Leucatas.³ To arrive, again, at Patræ in small boats, without all this paraphernalia, seemed to me somewhat undignified.

Yes, your frequent exhortations have fallen on willing ears! I daily turn them over in my own mind and impress them on my staff: in fine, I will make certain of passing through this extraordinary function without the least illegality or extortion. I only hope the Parthian will keep quiet and

of Appius Claudius; and, secondly, Porcia, daughter of Cato and widow of Bibulus.

¹ By the dedication of the *liber auguralis*, after Cicero's election into the college of augurs (B.C. 52).

² Freedmen of Atticus, who entertained Cicero by his orders. The *Salii*, like the Pontifices, gave banquets (Lord Mayors' feasts) proverbial for their splendour (Horace, *Odes*, i. 38, 11).

³ The famous promontory on the south of Leucadia, the scene of Sappho's leap.

fortune favour us! I will do my part. Pray take care to let me know what you are doing, where you mean to be from time to time, in what state you left things at Rome, and, above all, about the 820 sester tia. Put all that into one letter, carefully directed so as to be sure of reaching me in any case. But that my year of office should remain unchanged and without any addition being decreed, for this remember to take proper measures yourself and through all my friends, especially through Hortensius: for, though absent at present, when the question is not before the house, you will, as you said in one of your answers, be in town at the proper time. While pressing this upon you, I feel half-inclined to beg you also to fight against there being an intercalation.¹ But I don't venture to put all the burdens on your back. As for the year, stick to that at any rate. My son Cicero, the best-behaved and dearest of boys, sends you his regards. I always liked Dionysius, for my part, as you know; but I get to value him more every day, and, by Hercules, principally because he loves you, and never lets an opportunity slip of talking about you.

CXC V (F VIII, 2)

M. CÆLIUS RUFUS TO CICERO (ON HIS JOURNEY)

ROME, JUNE²

It is certainly true, I tell you, that he has been acquitted—I was in court when the verdict was announced—and that, too, by all three orders, and by a unanimous vote in each

¹ That is, an intercalary month, after 23rd February, to correct the year. It was put in at the discretion of the Pontifices, whom Cicero thought Atticus could influence.

² I have followed Messrs. Tyrrell and Purser in placing this letter in June instead of July, principally because it appears to have been written a considerable time before the elections.

order. "Well, that's entirely their concern,"¹ say you. No, by Hercules! For nothing ever happened so unexpected, or so scandalous in the eyes of everybody. Nay, even I, though I countenanced him with all my might for friendship's sake, and had prepared myself to condole with him, was thunderstruck when it occurred, and thought I must be under some hallucination. What do you suppose, then, was the feeling of others? Why, they attacked the jurors with a storm of disapproving shouts, and made it quite plain that this was more than they could stand. Accordingly, now that he is left to the mercies of the Licinian law, he seems to be in greater danger than ever.² Besides this, on the day after the acquittal, Hortensius came into Curio's theatre³—I suppose that we might share in his rejoicing! Whereupon you had

"Tumult sore,
Wild uproar,
Thunder bellowing in the clouds,
Tempest hissing through the shrouds."

This was the more noticed from the fact that Hortensius had reached old age without ever having been hissed, but on this occasion got it heartily enough to serve anyone for the whole of his life, and to make him sorry he had won his case. Of politics I have nothing to tell you. The active proceedings of Marcellus have died away, not from lack of energy, as it seems to me, but from policy. As to the consular elections, public opinion is quite at a loss. For myself, I have chanced upon one competitor who is noble

¹ Reading *viderint modo*. This is very likely not the true reading, but nothing can be made of *vide modo* of the MSS. Another suggestion is *ride modo*, "well, pass it over with a smile." The acquittal referred to is that of M. Valerius Messalla (consul B.C. 53), on a charge of bribery (*ambitus*).

² Having been acquitted on the charge of *ambitus*, the only thing to be done with Messalla was to accuse him of having used his political club (*sodalitas*) for corrupt purposes. The *lex Licinia de sodalitatibus* (B.C. 55) was a harsher law than others *de ambitu* in regard to the composition of the jury (*pro Planc.* § 36). Cælius therefore thinks that Messalla will have less chance under it.

³ Two wooden theatres that swung round, with spectators sitting in them, to form an amphitheatre for gladiators. Curio had therefore determined on giving the funeral games against which Cicero advised him. See Letter CLXVIII.

and one who acts the noble : for M. Octavius, son of Gnæus, and C. Hirrus are standing with me. I tell you this because I know that it was on account of Hirrus that you were anxiously waiting for news of my election. However, as soon as you learn of my having been returned, I beg you to be taking measures as to the panthers.¹ I recommend Sittius's bond to your attention. I gave the first batch of notes on the events in the city to L. Castrinius Pætus, the second to the bearer of this letter.

CXCVI (F VIII, 3)

M. CÆLIUS RUFUS TO CICERO (ON HIS WAY
TO CILICIA)

ROME, JUNE

Is it so? Have I won? And do I send you frequent letters, which, as you were leaving, you said I should never take the trouble to do for you? It is even so, that is to say, if the letters I send reach you. And, indeed, I am all the more energetic about this because, being at leisure, I have nowhere to spend my little holiday with any pleasure. When you were at Rome I had an unfailing and most delightful resource for an idle day—to spend the holiday with you. I miss this exceedingly, so that not only do I feel myself to be all alone, but now you are gone a desert seems to have been created at Rome; and I who in my carelessness omitted paying you a visit on many days, when you were here, am now daily tortured to think that I have not got you to run to. But, above all, my rival² Hirrus takes care that I should look for you day and night.

¹ The office Cælius was seeking was that of curule ædile; as ædile he and his colleague had charge of the *ludi Romani* and *Megalensia*, as well as in some degree other games. It was the fashion to endeavour, in some way, to make their office notable by something fresh or costly; and one of the most popular features of such games was the *venatio*, a killing of wild animals. Cælius wants these panthers to exhibit in this way.

² As candidate for the curule ædileship.

You can imagine how vexed that rival of yours for the augurship is, and how he tries to conceal the fact that I am a surer candidate than himself. That you should receive the news about him which you wish at the earliest possible moment, I desire, on my honour, more for your sake than my own. For as to myself, if I am elected, I shall perhaps be so with a colleague richer than myself:¹ but even this is so delightful, that, if it really does happen to me, I can never all my life long lack something to smile at. Is it really worth while? Yes! by Hercules. M. Octavius is unable to do much to soften the hostile feelings—and they are many—which spoil Hirrus's chances. As to the services of your freedman Philotimus and the property of Milo, I have taken care that Philotimus should satisfy Milo in his absence, as well as his family, by the most absolutely straightforward conduct, and that your character should not suffer as far as his good faith and activity are concerned.² What I now have to ask of you is that, if (as I hope) you get any leisure, you would compose some treatise dedicated to me, to shew me that you care for me. "How did that come into your head," say you, "a modest man like you?" I desire that out of your numerous writings there should be something extant handing down to posterity also the record of our friendship. "What sort of thing do you want?" I suppose you will ask. You, who are acquainted with every school of thought, will hit upon the suitable thing sooner than I. Only let it be of a kind that has some appropriateness to me, and let it contain practical instruction, that it may be widely used.

¹ The reading and the interpretation of this clause are both very doubtful.

² See p. 18.

CXCVII (A V, 10)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ATHENS, 27 JUNE

I ARRIVED at Athens on the 24th of June, and have now waited there threedays for Pomptinus and have heard nothing as yet of his arrival. I am, believe me, wholly with you : and though I should have done so without them, yet I am thinking of you all the more vividly from being reminded by the traces of you in this place. In short, I assure you we talk of nothing else but you. But you, perhaps, would prefer to be told something about myself. Here you are then : up to now neither I nor any of my staff have been any expense to any town or individual. We receive nothing under the Julian law,¹ nothing from any public host : my whole staff are impressed with the belief that they must have a regard for reputation. So far, well. This has been noticed with praise on the part of the Greeks and is being much talked of. For the rest, I am taking great pains, as I have perceived that you wished. But on this subject let us reserve our applause till the last act has been reached. Other circumstances are such that I frequently blame my folly for not having found some means of getting out of this business. How entirely unsuited to my character and habits ! How true the proverb is, " Let the shoemaker stick to his last ! " ² You will say, " What, already ? Why, you are not actually in the business ! " I know that very well, and I expect greater trouble remains : even as far as it has gone, though I bear it with cheerful brow, I think, and expression, in my inmost heart

¹ The law passed by Iulius Cæsar in his consulship, B.C. 59, limiting (among other things) the amount which provincial governors could demand in passing to and from their provinces. Cicero's boast is that he has not taken even what that law allowed.

² Cicero, as often, merely gives a word or two of the Greek proverb (ἑρδοὶ τις), which he knows Atticus can fill up, ἑρδοὶ τις ἦν ἑκαστος εἰδεῖν τέχνην (Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1431), " Let each practise the art that he knows."

I am enduring agonies: so many instances are occurring every day of ill-temper or insolence, of foolish and senseless behaviour of every kind, both by speech and by refusal to speak. I don't give you details of these things, not because I wish to conceal them from you, but because they are difficult to explain. So you shall admire my self-restraint when I return safe and sound: I am bestowing such pains on the practice of this virtue. Well, enough of this. Though I had nothing in my mind that I intended to write about, because I haven't even the smallest idea as to what you are doing, and in what part of the world you are: nor, by Hercules, have I ever been so completely in the dark about my own affairs, as to what has been done about the debt to Cæsar or Milo's liabilities; and no one has come, I don't say from my house, but even from Rome, to enlighten me as to what is going on in politics. Wherefore, if there is anything that you know on the subjects which you may suppose that I should wish to know, I shall be very much obliged if you take the trouble to have it transmitted to me. What else is there to say? Why, nothing except this: Athens has pleased me immensely, at any rate as far as the city itself and all that adorns it are concerned, and the affection of the inhabitants towards you, and what I may call a prepossession in favour of myself: but as to its philosophy—that is very topsy-turvey, if Aristus is supposed to represent it, in whose house I am staying. For your and my friend Xeno I preferred giving up to Quintus, and yet, owing to his proximity, we spend whole days together.¹ Pray, as soon as you possibly can, write me word of your plans, and let me know what you are doing, where you are from time to time, especially when you intend being in Rome.

¹ Aristus, an Academician; Xeno, an Epicurean.

CXCVIII (F XIII, 1)

TO GAIUS MEMMIUS (IN EXILE AT
MITYLENE)

ATHENS, JULY

THOUGH I had not quite made up my mind whether the prospect of seeing you at Athens was painful or pleasant—because your undeserved calamity¹ would have caused me sorrow, yet the philosophic spirit with which you bear it delight—nevertheless, I should have preferred to have seen you. For I do not feel the pain much less when you are out of sight, while such pleasure as is possible would at any rate have been greater had I seen you. Therefore I shall not hesitate to endeavour to see you whenever I shall be conveniently able to do so. Meanwhile, such business as can be put before you by letter, and, as I think, can be brought to a conclusion, I will put before you now at once. I will preface my request by asking you not to do anything for my sake against your own inclination; but if the matter is one which is important to me, and in no way of much importance to yourself, still only grant it in case of having first made up your mind to do so cheerfully. I am in thorough sympathy with Patron the Epicurean, except that I differ from him widely in philosophy. But not only at the very beginning in Rome, when he was paying attention to you as well as all your friends, did he also cultivate my acquaintance with special care, but recently also, after having gained all that he wanted in the way of personal profit and reward, he has continued to regard me as almost the first of his supporters and friends. Besides this, he was introduced

¹ Gaius Memmius Gemellus (to whom Lucretius dedicated his poem) was prætor in B.C. 58. Of his conduct when curule ædile we have heard before (vol. i., p. 51). He was condemned for *ambitus* in B.C. 54 (see vol. i., p. 304). He selected Athens as his place of exile, being deeply versed in Greek literature (*Brut.* § 247), but spent part of his time at Mitylene.

and recommended to me by Phædrus,¹ who, when I was a boy and before I knew Philo, was highly valued by me as a philosopher, and afterwards as, at any rate, a good, agreeable, and kindly man. This Patron, therefore, having written to me at Rome, begging me to reconcile you to him, and to ask you to grant him some ruined house or other once belonging to Epicurus, I did not write to you on the subject, because I did not want any plan of building which you might have to be hampered by a recommendation of mine. On my arrival at Athens, however, having been asked by the same person to write to you on the subject, I have granted his request, because all your friends agreed in saying that you had given up that building idea. If this is so, and if it is now of no importance to you, I would ask you, if some little offence has been caused you by the wrong-headedness of certain persons—and I know the class of men—to take a lenient view of the matter, either from your own great natural kindness or, if you like, out of compliment to me. For my part, if you ask me what I think about it myself, I neither see why he is so anxious for it, nor why you make difficulties; I only feel that it is much less natural for you to trouble yourself without reason, than for him to do so. However, I am sure that Patron's line of argument and the merits of his case are known to you. He says that he has to maintain his own honour and duty, the sanctity of a will, the prestige of Epicurus, the solemn injunction of Phædrus, the home, the dwelling-place, the footprints of famous men. We may ridicule the man's entire life and the system which he follows in philosophy, if we take upon ourselves to find fault with what he is now contending for. But, by Hercules, since I am not very unfriendly to him or to others who find pleasure in such things, I think we must be indulgent to him for being so very keen about it. For even if he is wrong in this, it is a fault of the head, not the heart. But to come to the point—for I must mention this sooner or later—I love Pomponius Atticus as a second brother. Nothing can be

¹ An Epicurean who taught at Athens and at Rome. Philo was an Academician, to which sect Cicero was in later years more drawn. Phædrus came to Rome in B.C. 88, and immediately won the devotion of the young Cicero (*Brut.* § 306).

dearer or more delightful than he is to me. Atticus, then—not that he is of their sect (for he is cultivated to the highest degree in *all* liberal learning¹), but he is very fond of Patron, and was much attached to Phædrus—presses this upon me as he has never done anything else, though he is the very reverse of self-seeking, the last person in the world to be troublesome in making requests; and he feels no doubt of my being able to obtain this favour from you on the slightest hint, even if you still had the intention of building. In the present circumstances, however, if he hears that you have laid aside your plan of building and that yet I have not obtained this favour from you, he will think, not, indeed, that you have been ungenerous towards me, but that I have been careless in what concerned himself. Wherefore I beg you to write word to your agents that the decree of the Areopagites, which they call a “minute,”² may be cancelled with your free consent. But I return to what I said at first. Before making up your mind to do this, I would have you be sure that you do it for my sake with a willing heart. At any rate have no doubt of this: if you do what I ask, I shall take it as a very great favour. Farewell.

¹ Epicurus was noted for his barbarous style, and his followers, Greek and Latin, according to Cicero, generally had the same defect. See *Brut.* § 131; *Tuscul.* ii. § 7: *Epicurii Latini ipsi profitentur neque distincte, neque distribute, neque eleganter, neque ornate scribere.*

² ἀπομνημονεύον, “record,” “memorial.” This it appears from inscriptions was the technical word for a decree of the Areopagus, though other words are also found, such as δόγμα, ἐπαύρισμα (*consultum*), ἔδοξεν, etc. A series of inscriptions also shews that in the Roman period the Areopagus was an important executive body: thus we find it superintending the prosecutions of users of false weights and measures, and constantly joined with the council of 600 (or 500 later) in voting honours to benefactors. In one inscription (Add. 4315, n. C. I. G.) it is joined with the “Epicureans at Athens” and the theatrical guild in paying honour to a physician. The minute or record here to be cancelled appears to be a grant or sale to Memmius of a building site in Athens, on which were the ruins of the house of Epicurus, which the Epicurean Patron wished to preserve.

CXCIX (A V, 11)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ATHENS, 6 JULY

HALLO write so often to Rome, and not send a single line to you? Well then, hereafter, rather than consent not to send you a letter, if that can be done safely, I will send one that may never reach you. Whatever step can be taken to provide against the prolongation of my government, in the name of fortune, take, so long as you are in town. I can't describe to you the warmth of my longing for the city, or the difficulty I feel in putting up with the boredom of this business.

Marcellus's action in the case of the man of Comum was disgraceful. Even if he were not a magistrate, he was yet an inhabitant of Gallia Transpadana.¹ So he seems to me to have given no less cause of anger to our friend Pompey than to Cæsar. But this is his own look-out. I think, from what you tell me that Varro says, that Pompey certainly means to go to Spain. I entirely disapprove of it, and indeed I easily convinced Theophanes that the best course was for him not to quit Rome to go anywhere.² So the Greek will put

¹ A colony had been established at Comum after the social wars by Pompeius Strabo (Pompey's father), whose law also gave the Latin franchise to all Transpadani. The colonists had suffered from attacks of neighbouring tribes, and Cæsar, in virtue of a *lex Vatinia* (B.C. 59), had determined to settle there five thousand new colonists. This had been done in the course of his proconsulship, and he took great interest in the place. But the Optimates were anxious to shew their disregard of all Cæsar's consular acts, as done in spite of the *obnuntiatio* of Regulus, and without the sanction of the senate. The Transpadani had the Latin franchise only, but in a colony members of the local senate and magistrates had the full *civitas*. Marcellus, by way of shewing that Comum was not a *colonia*, ordered one of its magistrates to be flogged on some pretext, which was equivalent to declaring him not to be a *civis*. Cicero says that even if this were strictly legal, it was outrageous—an abuse of the law. The authorities are Appian, *B. C.* ii. 26; Suet. *Cæs.* 28; Plut. *Cæs.* 29.

² Pompey, when proconsul of Spain. It was quite an unprecedented

pressure on him ; and his influence is very powerful with him.

I send this letter on the 6th of July, when on the point of quitting Athens, where I have been exactly ten days.¹ Pomptinus has arrived along with Cn. Volusius ; my quæstor is here ; the only one missing is your friend Tullius. I have some open vessels of Rhodes, some biremes of Mitylene, and a certain amount of despatch boats.² I don't hear a word about the Parthians. For the rest, heaven preserve us ! As yet our journey through Greece has roused great admiration, nor, by heaven, have I as yet a fault to find with any of my staff. They appear to me to understand my point of view and the conditions on which they accompany me. They entirely devote themselves to my reputation. For the future, if the proverb "like mistress like dog"³ holds good, they will certainly stick to this line of conduct. For they will not see me doing anything to give them an excuse for malpractices. But if that does not prove sufficient, I shall have to take some stronger measure. For at present I am all smiles and indulgence, and, as I hope, am making considerable progress. But I have only studied the part of "tolerator"—as our friends the Sicilians call it⁴—for a single year. Therefore fight your best, lest, if any addition is made to my time, I should turn out a scoundrel.

Now to return to your commands : *præfecti* are excused jury service : offer the position to whom you choose. I will not be so high and mighty⁵ as I was in the case of Appuleius. I am as fond of Xeno as you are, of which I feel sure that he is fully aware. With Patron and the rest of the (Epicurean) dunces⁶ I have established your reputa-

thing for a proconsul to stay at Rome and govern by *legati*, as he was doing. Varro was one of these *legati*, and Theophanes was a Greek of Mitylene who was Pompey's close friend and secretary.

¹ That is, without counting the days of his arrival and departure. He arrived June 24th.

² *Aliquid ἐπικύπτων*, sc. *νέων*. This word does not occur elsewhere as a substantive. Aulus Gell. (x. 25, § 5) says that the Greek name for "despatch boats" (*actuarie*) was *ισχυκῶπτοι*, boats with sails and oars.

³ *ὡς ἡ ἀνδρὶς ὡς ἡ κύων*, "as is the mistress, so is her dog."

⁴ *ἀνεξίαν*, which is not a classical word, but I suppose was used in Sicily, where the Greek was not Attic.

⁵ *μεγέλωτος*, "uplifted."

⁶ See p. 29.

tion well, and, by Hercules, it is no more than you deserve. For that person told me three times over that you had written to him to say that I had taken measures about his affair in accordance with a letter from Memmius, and this pleased him very much. But Patron having urged me to request your Areopagus to cancel their minute, made in the archonship of Polycharmus,¹ it seemed best to Xeno, and afterwards to Patron himself, that I should write to Memmius, who had started for Mitylene the day before my arrival at Athens, to induce him to write to his agents that it might be done with his free consent. For Xeno felt sure that it would be impossible to get this concession from the Areopagites if Memmius were unwilling. Now Memmius had laid aside his design of building, but he was angry with Patron. So I wrote him a carefully expressed letter, of which I inclose you a copy.

Please comfort Pilia with a message from me. For I will tell you, though don't tell her. I received a packet which contained Pilia's letter. I abstracted, opened, and read it. It was in very sympathetic terms. The letters you got from Brundisium without one from me you must regard as having been sent when I was unwell;² for don't take seriously the excuse I mentioned of expense.³ Take care to let me know everything, but, above all, take care of your health.

¹ Eponymus archon of B.C. 54-53.

² See Letter CXCI.

³ I venture to propose to read *nummariam* (or *nummaria rei excusationem*), explaining it by Cicero's jocose reference to his economy in paper, in Letter CLXXXVI (p. 10). The MSS. have some Greek letters, *νομμάτια με*. Cicero says, "My real excuse for not writing was illness; for don't suppose I was really stingy about buying paper and its cost!" Both the excuse and its withdrawal are, of course, jests (and not very good ones). The mistake may possibly have arisen from Cicero writing the Latin word in Greek letters.

CC (F II, 8)

TO M. CÆLIUS RUFUS (AT ROME)

ATHENS, 6 JULY

WHAT! Do you suppose that I meant you to send me an account of gladiatorial matches, of postponements of trials, of robberies by Chrestus, and such things as, when I am at Rome, nobody ventures to retail to me? See what a high opinion I have of you—and not, indeed, undeservedly, for I have never yet known anyone with keener political instincts—I don't care for your writing to me even the daily occurrences in the most important affairs of the state, unless there is something specially affecting myself. Other people will write about them; many will convey news of them: common report itself will bring many of them to my ears. Therefore it is not things past or present that I expect from you, but things to come—for you are a man who sees far in front of you—so that, having got a view of the ground plan of the Republic from your pen, I may satisfy myself as to what the future building is to be. As yet, however, I have no fault to find with you; for it is impossible for you to see farther than any one of us, and especially myself, who have spent several days with Pompey in conversation exclusively political, which neither can nor ought to be committed to writing. Only take this as certain, that Pompey is an admirable citizen, and prepared in courage and wisdom alike to meet every contingency that needs to be provided against in the political situation. Wherefore devote yourself to him: he will receive you, believe me, with open arms. For he takes the same view, as we ever do, as to who are good and bad citizens. After spending exactly ten days in Athens, and having seen a great deal of our friend Caninius Gallus,¹

¹ L. Caninius Gallus, a strong supporter of Pompey, tribune B.C. 56. What he was doing at Athens is uncertain; it is suggested that he was proprætor of Achaia, but it is doubtful whether such an officer existed at this period.

I am starting on my journey to-day, the 6th of July, the day on which I send you this letter. All interests of mine I desire to have the benefit of your greatest attention, but nothing more so than that the time of my provincial government should not be extended. That is all in all to me. When, how, and by whose means this is to be worked, you will settle best for yourself.

CCI (A V, 12)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

AT SEA (ABOUT 15 JULY)

A SEA voyage is a serious business, and in the month of July too. We got to Delos on the sixth day from Athens. On the 6th of July we got from the Piræus to Zoster, with a troublesome wind, which kept us there on the 7th. On the 8th we got to Ceos with a pleasant voyage. Thence to Gyaros with a violent wind, though it wasn't against us. Hence to Syros, and from that to Delos; we in both cases accomplished the passage quicker than we could have wished. You have had experience of Rhodian open vessels: they are the worst things in the world for rough water. Accordingly, my intention is not to be at all in a hurry, nor to stir from Delos unless I see "Gyræ's headlands" all clear.¹

I wrote to Messalla at once from Gyaros, directly I heard, and also (which was my own idea) to Hortensius, for whom, indeed, I felt much sympathy.² But I am very anxious to

¹ Reading *ἀπὸ Γυρίων*, which I think Tyrrell and Purser have established. Gyræ, the southern promontory of Tenos, due north of Delos, would be a weather guide. If clear, fair weather might be expected; if cloudy, bad.

² For the acquittal of Messalla and the hissing that his uncle and advocate got for it, see Letter CXCV. I have translated Madvig's reading, *ad Messallam*, omitting *a te* (which by Cicero's usage should be *de te*). The point is rather that Cicero had written *before* he heard from Atticus, on getting the news from Cælius.

get your letter about what is said as to that verdict, and, indeed, about the political situation generally—a letter written somewhat more from the politician's point of view, for you are now, with the aid of Thallumetus, studying my books¹—a letter from which I may learn not what is actually happening (for that very "superior person," your client Helonius, can do that for me), but what is going to happen. By the time you read this our consuls will have been elected. You will be able to make out all about Cæsar, Pompey, and the trials themselves. My own affairs, since you are staying on in Rome, pray put straight. As to the point I forgot to mention in my answer to you—as to the brickwork, and as to the water, if anything can be done, pray shew your accustomed kindness. I think the latter of very great importance from my own ideas as well as from what you say about it. So please have it done. Again, if Philippus makes any application, do exactly what you would have done in your own case.² I will write at greater length to you when I have come to land; at present I am well out at sea.

CCII (A V, 13)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

EPHESUS (AFTER 22 JULY)

WE arrived at Ephesus on the 22nd of July, on the 620th day after the battle of Bovillæ.³ I accomplished the voyage without alarm and without sea-sickness, but somewhat slowly, owing to the crankiness of the Rhodian open ships. About the throng of legations and private suitors, and about the extraordinary crowd of people that met me even at Samos, but to a surprising extent at Ephesus, I presume that you

¹ His treatise *de Republica*. Thallumetus is Atticus's slave, or perhaps freedman, and reader.

² See next letter. Philippus seems to be the contractor for the work.

³ The murder of Clodius, 18 January, B.C. 52.

have heard, or—"well, what is all that to me?"¹ The fact is, however, that the tithe-collectors, as though I had come with *imperium*, the Greeks, as though I were governor in Ephesus,² presented themselves to me with eagerness. This will, I am sure, convince you that the professions I have been making these many years past are now being put to the test. But I shall, I hope, stick to the principles which I learnt from you, and give full satisfaction to everyone, and with the less difficulty that the contracts in my province have been settled.³

I did not neglect your little affairs at Ephesus, and although Thermus⁴ before my arrival had been most courteous in his promises to all your agents, yet I introduced Philogenes and Seius to him, and recommended Xeno of Apollonis. In a word, he undertook to do everything. I besides submitted to Philogenes an account of the note of exchange, which I had negotiated with you. So enough of that. I return to affairs in the city. In the name of fortune, since you are remaining at Rome, I beg of you, use every means of supporting and fortifying the position that I am not to be left in office more than a year, without even an intercalation. Next fulfil all my commissions, and especially in regard to that domestic matter get rid of the difficulty with which you are acquainted.⁵ Next to that do so in the matter of Cæsar: it was on your advice that I set my heart on him, and I do not repent. And, as you well understand how it is my nature to know and care for what is going on in public affairs—going on, do I say? nay,

¹ These words Boot and others suppose to be put into Atticus's mouth: "Or I suppose you will say, 'What have I to do with that?'" It is unlike Cicero to suppose Atticus to be indifferent to anything that affects himself. It would be easier with Schütz to alter *me* to *te*. After the *aut* he was going to put another infinitive clause, but breaks off and dismisses the subject, only referring afterwards to one class of people who came to him, *i.e.*, the *publicani*.

² *I.e.*, proprætor of Asia, of which Ephesus was the chief town.

³ The contracts for collecting the *decumæ* for B.C. 51. Those for the next year he had to superintend.

⁴ Q. Minucius Thermus, proprætor of Asia. He was an Optimate and took the side of Pompey in the civil war of B.C. 49-48, which he survived.

⁵ The marriage of his daughter, and perhaps his growing dissatisfaction with Terentia.

rather what is going to happen—write me everything at full length, and that with the utmost precision, and especially whether there is any breakdown in the trials that have either taken place or are about to do so. As to the water, if you are looking after it, and if Philippus is taking any steps, please attend to what is done.

CCIII (A V, 14)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TRALLES, 28 JULY

UNTIL I have settled down somewhere you must not expect a long letter from me, nor always written by my own hand. As soon, however, as I have a moment to spare, you shall have both. I am now journeying along a road which is both hot and dusty. I wrote yesterday from Ephesus: this I am despatching from Tralles.¹ I expect to be in my province² on the 1st of August. From that date, if you love me, agitate for my era to begin.³ Meanwhile, however, the following items of news of a welcome nature have reached me: first, that the Parthians are quiet; secondly, that the contracts of the *publicani* have been concluded; lastly, that a mutiny among the soldiers has been suppressed by Appius, and their pay discharged up to the 13th of July. Asia has given me an extraordinarily good reception. My visit there cost no one a farthing. I trust that my staff are respecting my reputation. I am very nervous about it, however, yet hope for the best. All my staff have now joined except your

¹ About forty miles south-east of Ephesus, in Caria, on the road which follows the general direction of the Mæander.

² The province of Cilicia at this time comprised, besides Cilicia itself (with Tarsus as capital), Iconium, part of Isauricum, Pamphylia, Cibra, Apamea, Synnada, Cyprus.

³ Move that my year's government is to count from that day. The Greek words, *ἐνιαύσιον παράπηγμα*, refer to the custom of driving in a nail as a means of counting the years. Cicero did, as a matter of fact, leave his province at the end of the following July.

friend Tullius. My idea is to go straight to the army, to devote the rest of the summer months to military affairs, the winter ones to judicial business. Pray, as you know that I have no less curiosity in politics than yourself, write me word of everything occurring or about to occur. You can do me no greater favour, except, indeed, that it will be the greatest favour of all if you fulfil my commissions, especially that "at my own hearth,"¹ than which you must know I have nothing more at heart. This letter reeks of hurry and dust. Future ones shall go into greater details.

CCIV (F III, 5)

TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER (IN CILICIA)

TRALLES, 28 JULY

I ARRIVED at Tralles on the 27th of July. There I found L. Lucilius waiting for me with your letter and message; than whom you could have sent no man either more friendly to me, or, as I think, better suited to give the information I wanted, or endowed with more practical wisdom himself. For myself, I read your letter with great pleasure, and also listened carefully to Lucilius. For two reasons all mention of past services is now superfluous: first, because you think so—for you say in your letter that you thought what I wrote to you about our mutual services, though gratifying to you, was unnecessary, considering how far back they go—and, secondly, because our friendship is well established and our fidelity tried: I will therefore pass over that subject, though I will yet express the thanks which I owe you. For I have observed and learnt from your letter that in all your proceedings you kept in view the object of consulting for my interests, and of settling beforehand and, so to speak, pre-arranging everything which would make my administration easier and less complicated. When I tell you that this

¹ ἐν δόμῳ. See p. 36.

kindness on your part excites the liveliest gratitude in me, it naturally follows that I wish you to think that it will ever be and is now an object dear to me, that first of all you and your friends, and then all the rest of the world also, should know that I am your very warm friend. If there are any people who are not clear on that point as yet, I think it is rather that they don't wish us to entertain such feelings than that they are ignorant of our doing so. But I am sure they will not be ignorant of it: for the persons taking part in our drama will not be obscure, nor its action unimportant. But I wish all this to be shewn in performance rather than in anything said or written.

You say that the route I have planned out makes you somewhat doubtful whether you are likely to see me in the province. The facts are these. When talking to your freedman Phania at Brundisium, I remarked in the course of conversation that I should be glad to go to that part of the province first, which I thought would best meet your wishes. Whereupon he informed me that, as it was your wish to leave by sea, it would be very convenient to you if I approached the maritime portion of the province on board ship. I said I would do so: and so I should have done, had not our friend L. Clodius told me at Corcyra that I must by no means do so: that you would be at Laodicea to meet me when I arrived. That was a much shorter and more convenient route for me, especially as I thought that it was your preference. Your plans were afterwards changed. In these circumstances it will be easiest for you to arrange what is to be done: I will lay before you what my plan is. On the 31st of July I expect to be at Laodicea: I shall remain there for a very few days to get in some money due to me on an exchequer bill of exchange. I shall then direct my course to the army, so as to be at Iconium, as I think, about the 13th of August. But if I am now making any mistake in thus writing—for I am at some distance both from my sphere of duty and the localities—as soon as I have begun my farther progress, I will employ the swiftest messengers, and write as often as I possibly can, to put before you the whole scheme of my days and routes. I have neither the courage nor the right to lay any burden upon you. Yet, as far as it may be so without inconvenience to you, it is

really of great importance to both of us that I should see you before you leave. If any accident, however, makes this impossible, you may yet feel certain of all the services that I can render you, exactly as if I had seen you. As to my own affairs, I shall not give you any written commissions until I have given up all hope of a personal interview. You tell me that you asked Scaevola¹ to take charge of the province in your absence until my arrival. I saw him at Ephesus, and he spent the three days of my stay at Ephesus with me in a very cordial manner; but I did not hear a word from him indicating any commission given him by you. I only wish he could have obeyed your wishes: for I don't think he was unwilling to do so.

CCV (F VIII, 4)

M. CÆLIUS RUFUS TO CICERO (IN CILICIA)

ROME, 1 AUGUST

I ENVY you: such a budget of startling news is conveyed every day to you over there! First, the acquittal of Messalla, then his condemnation: the election of C. Marcellus to the consulship: M. Calidius, after losing his election, impeached by the two Gallii: P. Dolabella made one of the *quindecimviri*. There's only one thing I don't envy you for—that you have lost a most interesting spectacle, and did not see the expression on the face of Lentulus Crus when he lost. But what a come down for him! He had been so confident, had made so sure of it! Dolabella himself had been so doubtful! And, by Hercules, if our friends the equites had not been too sharp-eyed, he would have won almost by the retirement of his opponent. The next item I don't think will surprise you, that Servæus, after becoming tribune-designate, has been condemned. C. Curio is can-

¹ Perhaps Q. Mucius Scaevola, who was with Quintus Cicero in Asia. He was tribune in B.C. 54, and was therefore possibly a *legatus* of Appius.

didate for the vacancy thus made by him.¹ It is remarkable how much alarm he inspires in many people, who don't know him and his easy-going character; but, as I hope and desire, and to judge from his present attitude, he will prefer to side with the loyalist party and the senate. In his present frame of mind he is bubbling over with this intention. The root and origin of this feeling is that Cæsar, who generally spares no expense in attaching to himself the friendship of the lowest characters, has treated him with very marked neglect. And in this there does seem to me to be a touch of humour—which has been noticed also to a great extent by the rest—that Curio, who never acts on any fixed plan, should be thought to be following a deliberate policy and a deep design in evading the counsels of those who had exerted themselves to oppose his election to the tribuneship—I mean the Lælii and Antonii and powerful men of that stamp.

There has been a somewhat longer interval than usual between this and my last letter, because the successive postponements of the elections kept me more than usually busy, and forced me to wait day after day for their result, that I might give you the information when all was over. I have waited to the 1st of August. There have been some hitches in the prætorian elections. Moreover, what will be the result of my own election I do not know: that of the plebeian ædiles' election indeed has, as far as Hirrus is concerned, amounted to a strong expression of opinion in my favour. For that foolish proposition of his (which we laughed at of old), and the promulgation of a law for the

¹ Messalla, convicted (after his acquittal for *ambitus*) under the Licinian law *de sodalitiis* (see Letter CXCV). M. Calidius, prætor B.C. 57, accused now of *ambitus*, had himself formerly accused Q. Gallius on the same charge. P. Cornelius Dolabella, afterwards son-in-law of Cicero, but a partisan of Cæsar in the Civil War, is now elected as one of the *quindecimviri sacris faciendis*. L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus, consul in B.C. 49, had been prætor B.C. 58, a strong Optimate. Of Servæus nothing is known; he is prosecuted for *ambitus* between his election and the day of entering office, and being condemned, is *ipso facto* incapable of taking it up. C. Curio, of whom we have heard so often, the pupil and friend of Cicero, of whom he hoped such high things, had ruined himself by his extravagant funeral games, and during his year of office was won over to Cæsar's side by being relieved by him from his enormous debts.

appointment of a dictator, brought M. Cælius Vinicianus suddenly to the ground, and caused him to be loudly hooted when down. This was followed by a general demand that, after that, Hirrus should not be elected *curule ædile*.¹ I hope that you will speedily hear about me the news you have hoped for, and about him what you have scarcely ventured to hope.

As to politics, I had by this time ceased to hope for any new development; but at a meeting of the senate in the temple of Apollo on the 22nd of July, upon a motion being brought before it in reference to the pay of Pompey's soldiers, mention was made of the legion with which Pompey had furnished C. Cæsar—in what division was it reckoned, for what purpose was it required? Pompey having answered that "it was in Gaul," he was compelled to say that "he would withdraw the legion." He didn't say this at once, but only on the subject being brought forward and under a fire of invective from his detractors.² He was then asked about the appointment of a successor to C. Cæsar;³ and on this point a resolution was passed that "Cn. Pompeius should return to the city as soon as possible, in order that the question of the succession to the provinces might be debated while he was in the house." For Pompey was on

¹ For Hirrus, too, had proposed that Pompey should be made dictator. The old dictatorship was forgotten; what people remembered was Sulla's unconstitutional dictatorship and the proscriptions.

² Pompey, though proconsul of Spain, was retained on the plea of the public service outside the city (*ad urbem*), as proconsul with *imperium*. As such he commanded all troops in Italy (for the consuls, while in the city, had no military command). He also, by the special terms of his appointment as *præfectus annonæ*, had the right for five years from B.C. 57 to enlist soldiers in any province. In B.C. 55 he had enlisted a legion in Cisalpine Gaul; but in B.C. 53, in view of a threatened rebellion throughout Transalpine Gaul, Cæsar had asked him to order this legion to join him, and Pompey had done so. We shall see that its withdrawal at the end of this year, under pretext of a Parthian war, was one of Cæsar's alleged grievances (Cæs. *B. G.* vi. 1; *B. C.* i. 4, 11). Of the troops Pompey retained in Italy the main part were at Ariminum, the frontier town of Italy proper and Gaul. Hence, when Cæsar crossed the Rubicon in B.C. 49, he found most of the towns on the eastern coast garrisoned by cohorts under Pompey's officers.

³ As to whether Cæsar was to stay in Gaul over the elections of B.C. 49, or come home before the full term of his governorship granted him by the law had expired.

the point of starting for Ariminum to join the army ; and in fact did go at once. I think that business will come on on the 13th of August. Some conclusion will be come to for certain, or a scandalous exercise of the veto will hinder it. For in the course of the debate Pompey let fall the expression, "Everybody ought to be obedient to the senate." For my part, however, there is nothing I look forward to so much as to hearing Paullus delivering his vote first as consul-elect.¹

I remind you often about Sittius's bond,² for I am anxious that you should understand that it is of great importance to me : so also about the panthers, that you should send for some natives of Cibyra,³ and see that they are shipped to me. Besides this, we have been told, and it is now regarded as certain, that the king of Egypt is dead. Take care to write to me what policy you recommend to me, what the condition of that kingdom is, and who has charge of it.⁴

1 August.

CCVI (A V, 15)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

LAODICEA, 3 AUGUST

I ARRIVED at Laodicea on the 31st of July. From this day, therefore, count the beginning of my year. Nothing could be more warmly, more affectionately welcomed, than my arrival. But you can scarcely believe how bored I am with the business. Has not that intellectual range, which you know so well, wide enough field ? and is my splendid

¹ L. Æmilius Paullus, who had now been or would be elected before the next meeting of the senate, was a strong Optimate. The consuls-designate were always called on first for their *sententia* in the senate.

² Letter CXCV.

³ The district of Pisidia included in the province of Cilicia.

⁴ Ptolemy, father of Cleopatra, of whose restoration (B.C. 55) we have heard so much, left a young son who, as king, ordered Pompey's murder in B.C. 48, and himself perished in the course of the Alexandrine war of B.C. 48-47.

industry likely to rust unemployed? Why, just look at this! That I should be sitting in court at Laodicea, while A. Plotius is doing so at Rome! And that, while our friend has that great army, I should have nominal command of two wretched legions! But the fact is, that it is not such things as these that I miss: it is the broad daylight of life, the forum, the city, my town house, *you* that I miss. But I will endure it as best I may, provided that it does not last more than a year. If there is any extension, I am lost! But this may easily be resisted, if only you are in Rome.

You ask me what I am doing. Why, upon my life, I am living at a vast expense. I am wonderfully pleased with this course. My disinterested conduct, founded on your injunctions, is so admirable, that I am afraid that the money I took up from you will have to be paid by a fresh loan. I avoid reopening any wounds inflicted by Appius, but they are patent and cannot be concealed. I am starting to-day, the 3rd of August, on which I despatch this letter, from Laodicea to the camp in Lycaonia: thence I think of going to the Taurus, that by means of a pitched battle with Moëragenes¹ I may, if possible, settle the question of your slave.

“The saddle’s on the ox: no load for us:”

But I shall put up with it, only, as you love me, let me be only kept a year. Mind you are in town at the right moment, to keep every senator up to the mark. I am feeling wonderfully anxious, because I have had no news of what is going on among you for a long time. Wherefore, as I have said before in my letters, see that I am kept acquainted with politics as well as everything else. I know this letter will be somewhat long in reaching you, but I am intrusting it to a familiar and intimate friend, C. Andronicus of Puteoli. You, however, will have frequent opportunities of giving letters to the letter-carriers of the *publicani*, by the favour of the head contractors for the pasture-tax and harbour dues of our districts.²

¹ A robber chief, with whom a runaway slave of Atticus had taken refuge.

² *Scriptura* is the money paid for the pasturing of cattle on the public lands in a province. *Magistri* are the *magistri societatum*, the managers

CCVII (A V, 16)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CILICIA, AUGUST

THOUGH the letter-carriers of the *publicani* are starting while I am actually travelling and on the road, and though I am still engaged on my progress, yet I thought I must snatch a moment to prevent your thinking me forgetful of your charge. So I have sat down actually on the road to write you in brief what follows, which really calls for a somewhat lengthy essay. Let me tell you, then, that with the highest possible reputation I entered, on the 31st of July, into a province in a state of desolation and lasting ruin; that I stayed three days at Laodicea, three at Apamea, the same at Synnada.¹ It was the same tale everywhere: they could not pay the poll-tax: everybody's securities were sold: groans, lamentations, from the towns: acts of savagery worthy of some wild beast, rather than of a man. In short, they are absolutely weary of their life.² However, the wretched towns are somewhat relieved by my costing them nothing, nor my legates, nor quæstor, nor anyone. Let me tell you that I not only refuse to accept hay, which is customarily furnished under the Julian law, but that no one of us accepts even firewood, or anything else, except four beds and a roof to cover us; in many districts we do not accept

of the companies of *publicani*. *Diæcesis* (which Cicero sometimes writes in Greek letters, *διοίκησις*) is a "jurisdiction" or *conventus*, a district of a province. Thus in *Fam.* xiii. 67, Cicero says that the province of Cilicia had three Asiatic "dioceses," viz., Laodicea, Synnada, Apamea. The districts here must include those south of the Taurus and bordering on the sea.

¹ The three Asiatic *diæceses*, joined to the province of Cilicia.

² In this brief summing-up of the state of things following the administration of Appius, Cicero perhaps may plead that he is only retailing what he has heard in an *ex parte* statement, but he seems to confirm it in subsequent letters, and it makes one sorry for the fulsome tone of his letters to Appius himself.

even a roof, but remain, as a rule, under canvas. Accordingly, we are greeted by extraordinary throngs from farms, villages, houses, every sort of place. By Hercules, on my mere arrival, the justice, purity, and merciful heart of your Cicero seems to give them new life: so far has he surpassed everyone's hopes. Appius, as soon as he heard of my arrival, hurried to the most distant part of the province, right up to Tarsus: there he is holding sessions. About the Parthian not a word: but, nevertheless, some who come from those parts announce that some cavalry of ours have been cut to pieces. Bibulus even now is not so much as thinking of approaching his province. People say that he is acting thus because he wishes to leave it somewhat later.¹ We are making all haste to the camp, which is two days' journey away.

CCVIII (A V, 17)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

LYCAONIA, AUGUST

I HAVE received a packet of letters from Rome without one from you, for which, granting you to be well and in Rome, I imagine the fault to be Philotimus's, not yours. I dictate this letter sitting in my carriage, on my way to the camp, from which I am two days' journey distant. In a few days' time I am going to have men on whom I can rely to take letters. Accordingly, I reserve myself for that. However, I will just say, though I should prefer your hearing this from others—I am so conducting myself in the province that no farthing is spent on anyone. This is owing also to the careful conduct of legates, tribunes, and prefects. For one and all entertain a surprising desire to vie with each other in maintaining my reputation. My friend Lepta is wonderful in that respect. But at present I am in a hurry: I will write everything in

¹ Bibulus did not return till B.C. 49, some months after Cicero. See Letter CCXCIII.

full to you in a few days. The younger Deiotarus,¹ who has received the title of king from the senate, has taken my son and nephew with him to his own dominions. So long as I am in the summer camp, I thought that the safest place for the boys. Sestius has written me an account of his conversation with you about my domestic anxiety, which is a very serious one, and of what your opinion is. Pray throw yourself into that matter, and write me word what can be done and what you think. He also told me that Hortensius had said something or other about the extension of my provincial government. He promised me at Cumæ that he would most energetically plead for my being kept here only a year. If you have any affection for me, strengthen this position. I cannot tell you how against the grain my absence from you is. At the same time, too, I hope that my present reputation for justice and purity will be all the more conspicuous if I quit the province early. This is what happened to Scævola,² who governed Asia only nine months. Our friend Appius, as soon as he saw that I was on the point of arriving, left Laodicea and went as far as Tarsus. There he is holding an assize, though I am actually in the province. However, I do not make any fuss about this slight upon myself; for I have enough to do in healing the wounds which have been inflicted upon the province. This I am taking care to do with as little reflexion upon him as possible: but I should like you to tell our friend Brutus³ that it was not very polite of him to remove to the farthest possible distance on my arrival.

¹ Son and successor of the Deiotarus, tetrarch of Galatia, whom Cicero defended. The younger man's title was probably granted him for money, through one of the proconsuls of Cilicia or Asia; some territory was attached to it, as he had a military force, with which he helped Cassius against the Parthians (xi. *Phil.* § 31).

² Quintus Mucius Scævola, "the most eloquent of lawyers and the best lawyer of orators," was consul B.C. 95, and afterwards proconsul in Asia, and Pontifex Maximus a few years afterwards. He fell in the Marian massacre of B.C. 82.

³ M. Brutus, who had married a daughter of Appius.

CCIX (F VIII, 5)

M. CÆLIUS RUFUS TO CICERO (IN CILICIA)

ROME (AUGUST)

How far you are anxious about the peaceful state of your province and the neighbouring regions I don't know: for myself, I am in great suspense. For if we could only arrange matters in such a fashion, that the war should just be of a magnitude to correspond with your forces, and that we should gain just enough success for a triumph, without encountering the serious contest awaiting you, then nothing could be so much to be wished. As it is, if the Parthian stirs at all, I know that the struggle will not be a slight one. Moreover, your army is scarcely large enough to hold a single pass. No one, however, takes that into account; but everything is expected from a man at the head of a public department, as though he had been refused nothing which was required to put him in the most absolute state of preparation. Added to this, I don't see any chance of a successor being named for you, owing to the controversy about the Gauls. Although on this point I think you have settled in your own mind what to do, nevertheless, to enable you to settle it the earlier, I thought, as I now foresee that contingency, that I ought to keep you informed. For you know the way things commonly go: a settlement of the Gauls will be passed; some one will be found to veto it; then up will get some one else to veto the other provinces, unless the senate is allowed to pass a vote about them all without interference. This is the sort of game that will be kept up briskly and long, and so long that more than two years will be wasted in these intrigues. If I had any news in politics to tell you, I would have followed my usual habit of carefully retailing in my letter not only what had happened, but also what I expected to be the result of it. In point of fact, everything seems to have stuck, so to speak, in the ditch. Marcellus is trying to push that same motion about the provinces, but has

not as yet succeeded in getting a quorum.¹ If, after this year is over, Curio as tribune, and the same motion about the provinces come upon the stage, you cannot fail to see how easy it will be to stop all business, and how much Cæsar, and those who care nothing for the Republic when their own interests are involved, hope that it may be so.

CCX (F VIII, 9)

M. CÆLIUS RUFUS TO CICERO (IN CILICIA)

ROME, 2 SEPTEMBER

"Is that the way you have treated Hirrus?" quoth you. Nay, if you only knew how easy it was, what an absence of even the shadow of a struggle, you would be ashamed that he ever ventured to come forward as a rival candidate with you.² However, after his defeat, he keeps a smiling face, plays the honest citizen, and delivers his votes against Cæsar; blames the delay; attacks Curio, too, with considerable violence; has quite changed his habits since his defeat. Besides, he who has hitherto never shewn his face in the forum, and has had little to do with the law courts, now pleads cases of slaves claiming freedom,³ though seldom after midday. I told you in one of my letters that the business of the provinces was to be settled on the 13th of August: well, the trial of Marcellus, consul-designate, interfered with

¹ See Letter CCV. The motion of Marcellus about the provinces was to come on the 13th of August. According to Willem's *Le Sénat* (ii. pp. 167, 589) the *lex Pompeia de provinciis* enacted a minimum number of senators for the passing of a decree as to the provinces.

² *I.e.*, for the augurship.

³ *Liberales causas*. This phrase does not occur in Cicero, though it does in Terence and in Quintilian. Some of the editors, therefore, have doubted as to its genuineness or its meaning here. The point seems to be that Hirrus, to gain popularity, now took up the cases of the humblest clients, but yet did not exert himself to come to the courts in the afternoons. Law business would generally end between twelve and one, but sometimes cases were renewed after the midday rest and meal.

that. The matter was postponed till the 1st of September. They haven't even been able to make a house. I send this letter on the 2nd of September, up to which date nothing has been decided any more than before. As far as I can see this question will be transferred to next year unsettled, and, as well as I can guess, you will have to leave some one behind you to take charge of the province.¹ For the appointment of a successor is not freed from difficulties, now that it is sought to put the Gauls, the assignment of which is vetoed, under the same category as the rest of the provinces.² I have no doubt of this being the case: and it has made me the more determined to write to you, that you might prepare yourself for this eventuality.

In nearly every letter I have mentioned the subject of the panthers to you. It will be a disgrace to you that Patiscus has sent ten panthers to Curio, and that you should not send many times more. And these very beasts, as well as ten more from Africa, Curio has presented to me, lest you should think that he does not know how to make any presents except landed estates. If you will only not forget, and send for some men of Cibra, and also transmit a letter to Pamphylia—for it is there that they are said to be mostly captured—you will effect what you choose. I am all the more earnest about this now, because I think I shall have to furnish the exhibition entirely apart from my colleague. Pray lay this injunction upon yourself. It is your way to take much trouble willingly, as it is mine for the most part to take none. In this business you have nothing to do but speak—that is, to give an order and a commission. For as soon as the beasts have been captured, you have men to feed and transport them in those whom I have sent over on the affair of Sittius's bond. I think also that, if you give me any hope in your letters, I shall send some more men across.

¹ Cicero, as a fact, did leave his *quæstor* in charge of the province. At the end of a year a provincial governor could do this, though he remained responsible through his nominee.

² Up to this time the government of the Gauls had been arranged for till the end of B.C. 49 by a *lex*. The proposal to have a successor allotted for them in the ordinary way raised the entire question of Cæsar's rights, and the resolution in the senate to go on with allotting the provinces as usual would be vetoed *ab initio* in order to cover the case of the Gauls.

I recommend to you M. Feridius, a Roman knight, a son of a friend of mine, a good and active young man, who is about to arrive in your province on business of his own, and I beg you to count him among the number of your friends. He wishes that certain lands, from which their townships draw revenue, should by your favour (which you can easily and honourably grant) be relieved from this burden: you will have obliged men who are both grateful and honest.

I would not have you think that Favonius¹ owed his defeat to the men of the pavement; all the most respectable men abstained from voting for him. Your friend Pompey plainly objects to Cæsar keeping a province with an army, and being at the same time consul. However, the motion he himself made in the senate was that no decree ought to be passed at this time. Scipio's² was, that the question of Gallic provinces should be brought before the house on 1st March, and no other question combined with it.³ This motion made Cornelius Balbus⁴ pull a long face, and I know that he remonstrated with Scipio. Calidius, in conducting his defence, was very eloquent; in bringing his accusation, rather ineffective.⁵

CCXI (F XV, 3)

TO M. PORCIUS CATO (AT ROME)

ICONIUM, 28 AUGUST

AMBASSADORS sent to me by Antiochus of Commagene having arrived at the camp at Iconium on the 28th of August,

¹ M. Favonius, the admirer and imitator of Cato, was a good aristocrat, but made enemies by his bitter tongue. He was rejected for the prætorship this year, but apparently obtained it in the following year (though there is some uncertainty on that point).

² Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law and colleague in B.C. 52.

³ *I.e.*, not the other provinces.

⁴ Cæsar's friend and agent. See Letter CXCVIII.

⁵ Calidius, accused by the Gallii (Letter CCV), in his turn accused C. Claudius Marcellus, the consul-designate.

and having announced to me that the son of the king of the Parthians, whose wife was the sister of the king of the Armenians, had arrived on the Euphrates with a very large force of Parthians, and a great host of other nations besides, and had actually begun the passage of the Euphrates, and that it was reported that the Armenian king was about to make a raid upon Cappadocia—I thought that, considering our close friendship, I ought to write and tell you this news. I have sent no public despatch for two reasons: first, because the ambassadors said that the Commagenian himself had at once sent messengers and a despatch to the senate; and, secondly, because I believed that M. Bibulus, proconsul of Syria, who started thither by sea from Ephesus about the 13th of August, seeing that he had had the wind in his favour, had by this time arrived in his own province, and I thought that the senate was sure to get more definite information on all points in a despatch from him. For myself, considering the circumstances and the gravity of the war, my chief anxiety is to retain by my own leniency and purity, and the loyalty of our allies, what I can scarcely hope to retain by the amount of my forces and material resources. I would beg you, on your part, to continue your habitual affection for me and the defence of me in my absence.¹

CCXII (F III, 6)

TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER (AT TARSUS)

WITH THE ARMY IN CAPPADOCIA (29 AUGUST)

WHEN I compare my course of action with yours, though in maintaining our friendship I do not allow myself greater credit than I do you, yet I am more satisfied with my conduct

¹ The object of this letter addressed to the head of the Optimate party, as far as it had a head, seems to be to induce Cato to propose a reinforcement for Cicero, or to prepare Cato to defend him in case of failure. Cato was not in any office at this time; but as an ex-prætor he would have a fairly early opportunity of delivering a *sententia* in the senate.

than with yours. For at Brundisium I asked Phania—and I imagined that I saw clearly his fidelity to you and knew what a high place he had in your confidence—to tell me to what part of the province he thought you would like me to come in taking over the succession. Having been answered by him that I could not please you more than by going by sea to Sida,¹ although the arrival there was not very dignified² and much less convenient for me on many accounts, I yet said that I would do so. Again, having met L. Clodius in Corcyra—a man so closely attached to you, that in talking to him I seemed to be talking to you—I told him that I meant to arrange for my first arrival to be at the point at which Phania had requested that it should be. Thereupon, after thanking me, he begged me very strongly to go straight to Laodicea: that you wished to be on the very frontier of the province, in order to quit it at the first moment: nay, that, had I not been a successor whom you were anxious to see, you would most likely have quitted before you were relieved. And this last agreed with the letter which I had received in Rome, from which I thought that I perceived how much in a hurry you were to depart. I answered Clodius that I would do so, and with much greater pleasure than if I had had to do what I had promised Phania. Accordingly, I changed my plan and at once sent a letter in my own writing to you; and this, I learnt from your letter, reached you in very good time. With my conduct I am, for my part, quite satisfied; for nothing could be more cordial. Now, on the other hand, consider your own. Not only were you not at the place where you might have seen me earliest, but you had gone such a distance as made it impossible for me to overtake you even, within the thirty days fixed by, I think, the Cornelian law.³ Such a course of action on your part

¹ In Pamphylia, modern *Esby Adalia*, then possessing a good harbour, much used by the pirates before Pompey's war.

² An arrival by sea must necessarily prevent much of the state and outward show that the governor would like to have round him on entering his province. Cæsar had the same thought apparently, when he gives as a motive for building his bridge on the Rhine that crossing by boats was hardly consonant with the "dignity" of the Roman people.

³ The *lex Cornelia* of Sulla *de ordinandis provinciis*, one of the provisions of which was that a retiring governor must leave his province within thirty days of the arrival of his successor.

must appear to those who are ignorant of our feelings to each other to indicate one who, to put it at the mildest, is a stranger and desirous of avoiding a meeting, while mine must seem that of the most closely united and affectionate of friends. And, after all, before reaching my province, I received a letter from you, in which, though you informed me that you were starting for Tarsus, you yet held out no uncertain hope of my meeting you. Meanwhile, certain persons, I am ready to believe out of spite—for that is a vice widely spread and to be found in many—yet who had managed to get hold of some plausible grounds for their gossip, being unacquainted with the constancy of my feelings, tried to alienate my affection from you, by saying that you were holding an assize at Tarsus, were issuing many enactments, deciding actions, delivering judgments, though you might have guessed that your successor had by this time taken over your province—things (they remarked) not usually done even by those who expect to be relieved shortly. I was not moved by the talk of such persons; nay, more, I assure you, that if you performed any official act, I was prepared to consider myself relieved from trouble, and to rejoice that from being a government of a year, which I regarded as too long, it had been reduced nearly to one of eleven months, if in my absence the labour of one month were subtracted. One thing, however, to speak candidly, does disturb me—that, considering the weakness of my military force, the three cohorts which are at their fullest strength should be absent, and that I should not know where they are. But what causes me most annoyance of all is that I do not know where I am likely to see you, and have been the slower to write to you, because I was expecting you in person from day to day; and meanwhile I did not receive so much as a letter to tell me what you were doing or where I was to see you. Accordingly, I have sent you the commander of my reservemen, Decimus Antonius, a gallant officer and possessed of my fullest confidence, to take over the cohorts, if you think well, in order that, before the suitable season of the year is gone, I may be able to accomplish something practical. It was in that department that I had hoped, both from our friendship and your letter, to have the advantage of your advice, of which I do not even now despair. But the truth

is that, unless you write to me, I cannot even guess when or where I am to see you. For my part, I will take care that friends and enemies alike understand that I am most warmly attached to you : of your feelings towards me you do appear to have given the ill-disposed some grounds for thinking differently : if you will put that straight I shall be much obliged to you. That you may also be able to calculate at what place you may meet me without a breach of the Cornelian law, note this—I entered the province on the last day of July : I am on my way to Cilicia through Cappadocia : I break up the camp from Iconium on this last day of August.¹ With these facts before you, if you think by reckoning days and routes you may meet me, please settle at what place that may be most conveniently done, and on what day.²

CCXIII (F xv, 7)

TO GAIUS CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS³ (CONSUL-
DESIGNATE)

(LYCAONIA, SEPTEMBER)

I WAS exceedingly rejoiced to hear of your election as consul, and pray that the gods may bless your office to you, and that it may be administered by you in a manner worthy of your own and your father's position. For I have always loved and regarded you, as well as having had reason to know your exceeding affection for myself in all the course of my chequered fortunes. Moreover, having by numerous acts of kindness from your father been both defended in

¹ Going to Cybistra, in Cappadocia, where he pitched his camp.

² As the thirty days within which the outgoing governor was required by the law to quit his province were now expired, it is difficult to see any sincerity in this suggestion.

³ Consul B.C. 50, and cousin of C. Claudius Marcellus, consul B.C. 49. He is son of C. Claudius Marcellus (augur), to whom the next letter is addressed.

times of adversity and honoured in times of prosperity, I not only am, but am bound to be, devoted to your family, especially as from your most revered and excellent mother I have been fully aware of having received greater services in support of my safety and position than were to be expected from a lady. Wherefore I beg you with more than common earnestness to continue to regard and support me in my absence.

CCXIV (F XV, 8)

TO GAIUS CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS (AUGUR)

(LYCAONIA, SEPTEMBER)

THAT your son Marcellus has been elected consul, and that you have experienced the joy which you above all things desired, give me extraordinary pleasure, and that both for his own sake, and because in my opinion you richly deserve every success of the best sort: for I have had reason to know your unexampled goodness to me both in weal and woe; in fact, I have experienced the greatest kindness and the most eager support from your whole family, whether it were a question of my civil existence or official advancement. Wherefore I shall be much obliged if you will congratulate for me that most revered and excellent lady, your wife Iunia. From yourself I ask your habitual regard and support in my absence.

CCXV (F XV, 9)

TO M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS (CONSUL)

(LYCAONIA, SEPTEMBER)

I AM exceedingly glad that by the election of Gaius Marcellus to the consulate you have reaped the reward of your

loyalty to your friends, your patriotic spirit, and your own most brilliant and excellent consulship. I have no doubt about the feelings of those at home: for myself, indeed, distant as I am and sent by your own action to the other end of the earth, I am praising you, by Hercules, up to the skies with the most sincere and well-deserved compliments. For as I have had from boyhood a singular affection for you, while you have ever wished and judged me to be a man of the widest influence, so by this achievement, whether due to yourself or the favourable judgment of the Roman people concerning you, my affection for you has become warmer and stronger, and I feel the greatest delight when I am told by people of the greatest wisdom and men of the highest character, that in word and deed, in tastes and principles, I am like you or you are like me. If you will add one thing to the eminent achievements of your consulship—the securing of some one to succeed me at the earliest possible opportunity, or the prevention of any addition being made to the time which you defined in virtue both of a senatorial decree and of the law¹—I shall consider that I shall owe you everything. Take care of your health and let me have your regard and support in my absence. The news that has reached me about the Parthians, as I do not think it necessary at present to send an official despatch about them, I have resolved not to communicate to you as my intimate friend, for, as I was addressing a consul, it might be considered that I was writing officially.

CCXVI (F XV, 7)

TO L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS (CONSUL-DESIGNATE)

(LYCAONIA, SEPTEMBER)

THOUGH I never doubted that the Roman people, considering your eminent services to the Republic and the splendid posi-

¹ The senatorial decree assigning Cilicia to Cicero would mention the term of one year, but so would the *lex*, which it was necessary to pass in

tion of your family, would enthusiastically elect you consul by a unanimous vote, yet I had a feeling of intense exultation when the news reached me; and I pray the gods to render your official career fortunate, and that your office may be administered by you in a manner worthy of your own and your ancestors' position. And would that it had been in my power to have been at home to see that most wished-for day, and to have rendered you the service and support which your magnificent services and kindness to me deserved! But since the unexpected and unlooked-for accident of my having to take a province has deprived me of that opportunity, yet, that I may be enabled to see you as consul actually administering the state in a manner worthy of your position, I earnestly beg you to take care to prevent my being treated unfairly, or any additional time being added to my year's term of office. If you do that, you will abundantly crown your former kindnesses to me.

CCXVII (A V, 18)

TO ATTICUS (IN EPIRUS)

CYBISTRA, SEPTEMBER

How I wish you were in Rome, if by chance you are not there! For I have nothing to go upon except having received a letter from you dated 19th July, in which you said that you intend going to Epirus about the 1st of August. But whether you are in Rome or Epirus, the Parthians have crossed the Euphrates under Pacorus, son of the Parthian king Orodes, with nearly all his forces. I have not yet heard of the arrival of Bibulus in Syria. Cassius is in the town of Antioch with the whole army:¹ I am in Cappadocia, close to

order to give him *imperium*; it is to this *lex*, and not to the *lex Pompeia* of B.C. 52, that he seems here to refer. See Willem, *Le Sénat*, vol. ii., p. 590; cp. *ib.*, p. 167.

¹ C. Cassius Longinus (the future assassin of Cæsar) had been quæstor under Crassus, and since his death in B.C. 53 had been holding the province of Syria as proquæstor. He decisively defeated the Parthians

the Taurus, with my army near Cybistra: the enemy is in Cyrrhastica, which is the part of Syria next to my province. On these subjects I have sent a despatch to the senate. This despatch please look at, if you are in Rome, and consider whether you think it ought to be delivered; and so with many other things, or rather with all, chief of which is that there be no "slip betwixt the cup and the lip"¹—as the saying is—to add additional burden upon me, or an extension of my time. For, considering the weakness of my army, and the short supply of allies, especially faithful ones, my most trustworthy support is winter. If that has once come, and they have not first crossed into my province, the only thing I fear is that the senate will not allow Pompey to leave Rome, owing to the alarming state of affairs in the city. But if it sends some one else next spring, I do not trouble myself, always providing that my term of office is not prolonged.² So much for you if you are at Rome. But if you are out of town, or even if you are not, the state of affairs here is this: we are in good spirits; and since, as it seems, our plans are well laid, we cherish the hope that we are strong enough also to carry them out. We have pitched our camp in a safe spot, well supplied in the matter of corn, almost commanding a view of Cilicia, convenient for shifting quarters, and with an army which, although small, is yet, I hope, entirely loyal to me; and we are about to double its numbers by the arrival of Deiotarus in full force. I have found the allies much more loyal than anyone has ever done: and they can scarcely believe their eyes when they see the mildness of my administration

before Bibulus arrived. He was born in B.C. 85, and was married to a half-sister of Brutus.

¹ The Latin proverb is *inter cæsa et porrecta*, between the killing of the victim and the examining of its entrails and placing them on the altar, thus completing the sacrifice. Something ill-omened might happen in the interval preventing the completion; so Cicero fears something may crop up to prevent the naming of his successor.

² Cicero appears to think the Parthian danger so grave, that the idea might be entertained of sending Pompey in command of an army. This would supersede himself in his military capacity, but he is prepared to welcome him, though no one else, till the following spring, when he shall have ceased to care for anything but the certainty of an early departure from his province. As a matter of fact, the sending of Pompey or Cæsar was talked of at Rome, but it does not seem to have been seriously contemplated.

and the purity of my conduct. A levy of Roman citizens is being held ; corn is being carted from the country to places of safety. If, then, occasion arises, we shall defend ourselves by force ; if not, by the strength of our position. Wherefore do not be alarmed. For I have you before my eyes, and I perceive, as though you were present, your affectionate solicitude for me.

Now I beg you, if it is in any way possible, supposing my affair to remain undecided up to the 1st of January, to be in Rome in January. I am quite certain of receiving no unfair treatment if you are on the spot. The consuls are my friends, the tribune Furnius is wholly devoted to me. Still there is need of your persistence, good sense, and popularity. It is a momentous crisis. But it is not decent for me to press you at greater length.

Our two Ciceros are staying with Deiotarus, but, if it shall be necessary, they will be transferred to Rhodes.¹ Do you, if in Rome, with your accustomed punctuality, and anyhow, even if you are in Epirus, send one of your servants with letters, that both you may know what I am doing, and I what you are doing or about to do. I am doing your friend Brutus's business for him better than he would have done it himself. But I now produce my ward, and do not attempt to defend him. For they are a dilatory lot, and there is nothing to be got out of them. However, I will satisfy you, which is more difficult than satisfying Brutus himself. But in truth, I will satisfy you both.²

¹ His son and nephew, the young Marcus and Quintus. See Letter CCVIII.

² This refers to money owed to Brutus by Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia. Cicero calls him "my ward" because, as shewn in the next letter, he had been specially charged to protect him. *Exhibeo* is a legal term for "producing in court," "handing over to justice."

CCXVIII (F XV, 2)

TO THE MAGISTRATES AND SENATE

CYBISTRA (SEPTEMBER)

M. TULLIUS CICERO, son of Marcus, greets the consuls, prætors, tribunes, and senate. If you are well, I am glad. I and the army are well.

Having entered the province on the last day of July, not having been able to arrive earlier owing to the difficulty of the journey both by land and sea, I thought the thing most suitable to my office, and most conducive to the public welfare, was to provide everything affecting the army and its active service. These arrangements having been made by me with more care and energy than means or sufficient supplies, and messages and letters reaching me nearly every day concerning an invasion of the province of Syria by the Parthians, I thought that I ought to direct my march through Lycaonia, the Isaurians, and Cappadocia. For there was very strong reason to conjecture that, should the Parthians endeavour to quit Syria and invade my province, they would march through Cappadocia, as being most completely open to them. Accordingly, I marched with the army through that part of Cappadocia which borders on Cilicia, and pitched my camp at Cybistra, which is a town at the foot of Mount Taurus, in order that Artavasdes, the Armenian king, whatever his disposition, might know that an army of the Roman people was not far from his frontier; and that I might have in as close contact as possible king Deiotarus, a sovereign who is most loyal and devoted to our Republic, since his advice and material support might be of assistance to the public interests. Having my camp in this place, and having sent the cavalry into Cilicia—in order that my arrival, having been notified to the communities in that region, might confirm the loyal dispositions of all, and at the same time that I might get early information of what was going on in Syria—

I thought I ought to give the three days of my stay in that camp to a high and necessary duty. For, seeing that a formal resolution of yours had imposed upon me the duty of protecting king Ariobarzanes (surnamed Eusebes and Philorhomæus), of defending the personal safety of that sovereign and the integrity of his dominions, and of being the guardian of king and kingdom alike: and seeing that you had appended a declaration that the safety of that sovereign was a matter of great concern to the people and senate—a decree such as had never been passed by our house concerning any king before—I thought myself bound to report the expression of your opinion to the king, and to promise him my protection and a faithful and energetic support, in order that, as his personal safety and the integrity of his dominions had been commended to my care, he might communicate to me anything he wished to be done. Having, in the presence of my council, communicated these things to the king, he began his reply by the proper expression of his warmest thanks to you: and then went on to thank me also, saying that he looked upon it as a very great and honourable distinction that his personal safety should be a matter of concern to the senate and people of Rome, and that I should exhibit such energy as to put beyond doubt my own good faith and the weight of your recommendation. And, indeed, at this first interview, he also assured me of what I was very delighted to hear, that he neither knew nor had a suspicion of any plots either against his own life or against his kingdom. After I had congratulated him and said that I rejoiced to hear it, and yet had advised him as a young man to remember the disaster of his father's death, to protect himself with vigilance, and, in accordance with the injunction of the senate, to take measures for his safety, he then left me and returned to the town of Cybistra. However, next day he came to visit me in the camp, accompanied by his brother Ariarathes and some elder men, who had been his father's friends. In a state of agitation and with tears in his eyes—his brother and friends shewing the same signs of distress—he began appealing to my good faith and the charge imposed on me by you. On my asking with surprise what had occurred, he said that “information of an undoubted conspiracy had been communicated to him,

which had been withheld from him before my arrival, because those who might have denounced it to him had kept silence through fear, but that now, relying upon my protection several persons had boldly informed him of what they knew : that among these his most devoted brother had told him " (a story which the latter repeated in my hearing) " that he had been solicited to aim at becoming king : that so long as his brother was alive he could not accept that suggestion ; but that from fear of the danger he had never revealed the circumstance." After this speech I advised the king that he should take every precaution to preserve his life ; and I exhorted the friends, who had enjoyed the confidence of his father and grandfather, to guard the life of their sovereign with all care and vigilance, warned by his father's most lamentable murder. Upon the king asking me for some cavalry and cohorts from my army, though I was fully aware that in view of your senatorial decree I was not only authorized, but even bound to comply, yet, since the public interests demanded, owing to the news daily arriving from Syria, that I should lead the army as soon as possible to the frontiers of Cilicia—and since the king, now that the plot had been denounced, seemed not to be in need of an army of the Roman people, but to be capable of defending himself by his own resources, I urged him to learn his first lesson in the art of ruling by taking measures to preserve his life : that upon those by whom he had discovered that a plot was being laid against him he should exercise his sovereign rights : punish those who must be punished, relieve the rest from fear : use the protection of my army rather to inspire fear in the guilty than to keep up a state of civil war : the result would be no doubt that all, having been made acquainted with the decree of the senate, would understand that in accordance with your resolution I should protect the king if necessary.

Having thus encouraged him, I broke up my camp there, and began my march into Cilicia, leaving behind me on my departure from Cappadocia an impression that by your policy my arrival, owing to a strange and almost providential accident, had relieved from an actual plot a sovereign to whom you had given unsolicited that title in most complimentary terms, whom you had intrusted to my honour,

and whose safety you had declared in a decree to be a matter of great concern to you. I thought it was not improper that my despatch should inform you of this circumstance, in order that you might learn from what almost happened that you had long before taken the precautions necessary to prevent it: and I have been all the more ready to give you the information, because in king Ariobarzanes I think I have detected such signs of virtue and ability, as well as of good faith and loyalty to you, that you appear to have had good reason for all the care and energy you have devoted to his protection.

CCXIX (A V, 19)

TO ATTICUS (IN EPIRUS)

CILICIA, 20 SEPTEMBER

I HAD already sealed the letter which I presume you to have just read, one in my own handwriting and containing an account of all occurrences, when suddenly, on the 20th of September, a letter-carrier of Appius, arriving express on the forty-seventh day from Rome—oh dear! to think of the distance I am away!—delivered me your letter. From it I feel no doubt that you waited for Pompey's return from Ariminum,¹ and have by this time started for Epirus; and I am still more afraid that in Epirus you may be having no less cause for anxiety than I am having here. As to the debt to Attilius I have written to Philotimus not to apply to Messalla for it.² I am rejoiced that the fame of my progress has reached you, and I shall rejoice still more if you learn the sequel. I am very glad you find so much pleasure in your little daughter,³ and though I have never seen her, I yet love

¹ See Letter CCV.

² Owing to Messalla's recent condemnation *de sodalitiis* (Letter CCV), Cicero desired that he should not be troubled for some money for which he had been security to Attilius. Philotimus is Terentia's steward.

³ Omitting, with Schütz, the words *iam Roma*, which seem unin-

her dearly, and feel sure that she is charming. Good-bye ! Good-bye !

I am glad you approved of what I did about the ruins in Melita¹ in connexion with Patron and your fellow Epicureans. In saying that you were glad that the man lost his election who "opposed the uncle of your sister's son,"² it is a great mark of affection on your part ! In the same spirit you admonished me to rejoice too. It hadn't occurred to me ! "I don't believe it," quoth you. As you please : well, then, I am glad ; since righteous indignation is not the same as spite.³

CCXX (F XV, 1)

TO THE MAGISTRATES AND SENATE :

CILICIA, 22 SEPTEMBER

M. TULLIUS CICERO, son of Marcus, proconsul, greets the consuls, prætors, tribunes, and senate. If you are well, I am glad. I and the army are well.

Although I had undoubted assurance that the Parthians had crossed the Euphrates with nearly all their forces, yet, believing that more definite information could be sent you on these points by the proconsul M. Bibulus, I concluded that it was not incumbent on me to mention in a public despatch reports reaching me concerning the province of another. Having since then, however, received information on the most unquestionable authority—from legates, messengers, and despatches—whether I considered the importance of the matter itself, or the fact of not having yet heard of Bibulus's arrival

telligible. Many suggestions have been made, the best of which seems to be *quadrimum*, "four years old," but none are certain.

¹ The ruins of the house of Epicurus in Melita, an Attic dome (see Letters CXCVIII, CXCIX). The reading *Melita* for *militia* is due to Gassendi. For the house of Epicurus, *iv* Μελίτῃ, see Diog. Laert. x. 10.

² Himself, who had been opposed by Hirrus in standing for the augurship. See Letter CCX.

³ τὸ νεισιῶν, "righteous wrath"; τὸ φθονεῖν, "envy," "malice."

in Syria, or that the conduct of this war was almost as much my business as that of Bibulus, I came to the conclusion that it was my duty to write you word of what had reached my ears. The legates of king Antiochus of Commagene were the first to inform me that large bodies of Parthians had begun to cross the Euphrates. On the receipt of this report, as there were certain persons who thought that full credit could not be given to that sovereign, I made up my mind that I must wait for more trustworthy information. On the 18th of September, whilst marching into Cilicia at the head of my army, on the frontier between Lycaonia and Cappadocia, a despatch was handed to me from Tarcondimotus, who is considered to be the most faithful ally and the most devoted friend of the Roman people beyond Mount Taurus, announcing that Pacorus, son of Orodes, the king of the Parthians, had crossed the Euphrates with a very large body of Parthian cavalry, and had pitched his camp at Tyba, and that consequently a very serious commotion had been caused in the province of Syria. On the same day a despatch on the same subject reached me from Iamblichus, phylarch of the Arabians,¹ who is generally considered to be well-disposed and friendly to our Republic. Though I was fully aware that, on receipt of this information, our allies were unsettled in their feelings and wavering from the expectation of political change, I yet hoped that those whom I had already visited, and who had seen the mildness and purity of my administration, had been made more devoted to the Roman people, and that Cilicia, too, would become more certainly loyal when it had once felt the advantage of my equitable rule. Acting at once from this motive, and also with a view to put down those of the Cilicians who are in arms, and to shew the enemy in Syria that the army of the Roman people, so far from retiring on receipt of that news, was actually approaching nearer, I determined to lead it right up to Mount Taurus. But if my authority has any weight with you—especially in matters which you only know by report, but which are all

¹ Of these petty princes, Antiochus had been established in Commagene in B.C. 63-62 by Pompey, as also probably Tarcondimotus in part of Cilicia. Iamblichus, the Bedouin chief, was put to death by Antony in B.C. 31, but his son was restored by Augustus. He had also no doubt owed his establishment or restoration to Pompey in B.C. 63.

but passing under my eyes—I strongly urge and advise you to take measures for the defence of these provinces: it is over-late already, but better late than never. For myself, you are well aware how slenderly supplied and how imperfectly furnished with troops, in view of the expected gravity of this war, you have despatched me. And it was not from the blindness of vanity, but from a modest scruple as to refusing, that I did not decline this business. For I have never considered any danger so formidable, as to make me wish to avoid it in preference to obeying your will. But at this moment the matter is of such a nature, that unless you promptly despatch into these provinces an army on the same scale as you are wont to employ for the most important war, there is the most imminent danger of our having to give up all those provinces, on which the revenues of the Roman people depend. Again, there is this reason for your not resting any hopes on a levy in the province—that men are not numerous, and that such as there are fly in every direction at the first alarm. Again, what this class of soldier is worth in his opinion has been shewn by that gallant officer, M. Bibulus: for, though you had granted him leave to hold a levy in Asia, he has declined to do so.¹ For auxiliaries raised from the allies, owing to the harshness and injustice of our rule, are either so weak that they can do us little service, or so disaffected to us that it seems improper to expect anything from them or trust anything to them. Both the loyalty and the forces, whatever their amount, of king Deiotarus I reckon as being at our service. Cappadocia has nothing to give. Other kings and despots are not to be relied upon either in regard to their resources or their loyalty. For myself, in spite of this short supply of soldiers, I shall certainly shew no lack of courage, nor, I hope, of prudence either. What will happen is uncertain. I pray that I may be able to secure my safety! I will certainly secure my honour.

¹ A governor of one province could not hold levies in another without special grant of the senate. An exception had been proposed for Pompey in B.C. 57, when he was appointed *praefectus annonae*, and apparently was made in and after his consulships of B.C. 55 and 52.

CCXXI (F III, 8)

TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER (AT ROME)

CILICIA, 8 OCTOBER

ALTHOUGH, as far as I have been able to gather from your letter, I see that you won't read this till you are at the gates of Rome,¹ when the extremely reckless gossip of provincials will have become quite stale, yet, as you have written to me at such length about what unprincipled men are saying, I thought I ought to be careful to give your letter a brief answer. Two clauses of your epistle, however, must in a manner be passed over in silence: for they contain nothing that is definite or precise, beyond saying that alike by my looks and my silence I had shewn that I was no friend to you: and that this had been made unmistakable both on my judicial seat, when business was going on, and at certain social parties. I can well understand that there is nothing in all this; yet, though there is nothing in it, I fail to understand even what the allegation is. I know thus much, indeed—that many observations of a very marked character, made by me both from the high official seat and on the level of private intercourse, which were exceedingly complimentary to you, and indicated an anxious desire to acknowledge the close ties between us, might have with strict truth been reported to you. For as to the legates,² what could I have done in better taste or with greater regard to equity, than to diminish the expenses of states that were in great financial distress, and yet at the same time to detract nothing from your honour, especially as it was in answer to the petition of the states themselves? For

¹ Appius remained outside the gates (*ad urbem*, not *in urbe*) because he claimed a triumph, of which, however, Dolabella balked him. See Letter CCXLI.

² Legates sent, as was often the case, to commend Appius at Rome and support his claim to a triumph. They were sent at the expense of their own cities, and the system was often much abused and became a heavy burden on the states.

I had not been aware of the scale on which deputations were being sent on your account. When I was at Apamea, the head men of many states informed me that large sums were being voted for legates, though the states were insolvent. At this, many thoughts occurred to me at once. First, I did not think that you—a man of wisdom, and, to use the jargon of the day, a man of “culture”—took any pleasure in deputations of that sort: and I believe I argued to that effect at some length in court at Synnada. In the first place (I said) Appius Claudius was commended to the senate and people of Rome, not by the evidence of the people of Midæium (for it was in that state that the subject was started), but in the natural course of things: and, in the second place, I had seen many cases in which deputations¹ had come to Rome to commend certain persons, but I never remembered any instance of a hearing being granted them, to deliver their panegyric at any particular time or place: I was pleased (I said) with their display of feeling in being grateful to you for your services; but their whole idea appeared to me quite superfluous. If, however, they wished by that measure to shew their zeal, I should commend any man who did it at his own expense; should allow of it if the expense to the state did not exceed the law; should refuse permission if it were unlimited. Well, what fault can be found with that? The only possible one is what you go on to say—that certain persons considered my edict to have been expressly framed with a view to hinder these deputations of yours. Really, I think it is not so much those who argue thus who do me a wrong, as he who opens his ears to such a proposition. I drew up my edict at Rome: I never added a word to it except a clause which the *publicani*, in their interview with me at Samos, asked me to transfer word for word from your edict to my own. The clause referring to the diminishing the expenses of the states was very carefully worded; and in that clause there are some new provisions advantageous to the states, with which I am greatly pleased: but this clause, which has given birth to the suspicion of

¹ These complimentary *legationes*, he means, were not heard in the senate. Their number created a certain effect, just as petitions are not noticed in the House of Commons, though if numerous they may form some ground for action.

my elaborating something meant to be offensive to you, is taken from former edicts. For I was not so foolish as to hold that men were being deputed on their own private affairs, who were being sent, in the first place, in your interests while you were still in possession of *imperium*; and, in the second place, were being sent to deliver a vote of thanks, not in any private assembly, but in the council chamber of the whole world, the senate. Nor when I ordered that no one was to go without my leave, did I exclude those from doing so who might be unable to follow me to the camp and across the Taurus. That, in fact, is the most ridiculous thing in your letter: for what need was there for their following me to the camp or crossing the Taurus, when I arranged my journey from Laodicea as far as Iconium, with the express object of the magistrates and legates of all the dioceses north of Taurus,¹ and of all the states there, meeting me? Unless you suppose that no deputations were arranged till I had crossed the Taurus! That is certainly not so. For when I was at Laodicea, at Apamea, at Synnada, at Philomelium, at Iconium, in all of which towns I made some stay, there were ready waiting for me all the deputations of that kind. And yet I would have you know this, that I made no decree about diminishing or wholly remitting the expense of embassies, except such as the head men of the states asked for—that quite unnecessary expenses should not be added to the selling of the contract for the tribute,² and the very galling exaction (as you know) of the poll-tax and door-tax. Now, when at the instigation not only of justice but of pity, I undertook to relieve from their distress the states that had been ruined, and ruined, too, chiefly through their own magistrates, I could not be indifferent to that source of unnecessary expense. For your part, if observations of that nature were reported to you in regard to me, you ought not to have believed them. But if you like this way of attributing to others whatever occurs to your own mind, you are intro-

¹ He means the three *dioceses*—properly belonging to the province of Asia, and afterwards reunited to it—Cibyra, Apamea, and Synnada. See p. 45.

² The *tributum* in Cilicia, unlike the taxes in Asia, was not sold to *publicani*, but left to each state to collect. If, however, the states fell into arrears, a contract for its collection was sold to *publicani*, who put the screw on more tightly than the local tax-gatherers.

ducing a style of conversation between friends which is not very courteous. Whereas if I had ever had any thought of casting a slur on your reputation in the province, I should not have referred to your son-in-law, nor to your freedman at Brundisium, nor to your prefect of engineers at Corcyra, as to where you wished me to come.¹ Wherefore, on the advice of the greatest philosophers, who have written most brilliantly on the conduct of friendship, you may banish all expressions such as "they argued," "I maintained in opposition," "they said so," "I denied it." Do you suppose that I have never been told anything about you? Not even this—that, after having desired me to come to Laodicea, you yourself crossed the Taurus? That on the same days as I was holding assizes at Apamea, Synnada, and Philomelium you were doing so at Tarsus? I will say no more, lest I should seem to be doing exactly what I blame in you. I will only say this, and I feel it: if you feel in your own heart what you say that others are remarking, you are much to blame: but if others say these things to you, you are not entirely without fault in listening to them. My conduct in every particular of our friendship will be found to be consistent and sincere. But if anyone tries to make out that I had some ulterior object in view, could there be a better example of my supposed cunning than that, having always defended you while abroad—and that though I had no idea of ever requiring your defence while abroad myself—I should now give you the best possible excuse for abandoning me in my absence from town? I except from this denial one species of conversation, in which on very many occasions something is said, such as I presume you would prefer not being said—I mean when any abusive remark is made about any of your legates, prefects, or military tribunes. But even in regard to this nothing, by Hercules, has occurred in my hearing of a graver character, or reflecting on more persons, than what Clodius mentioned to me at Corcyra, when under that head he made a very loud complaint that you had been unfortunate in the dishonesty of others. Such observations as these, seeing that they are frequently

¹ See Letters CCIV, CCXII. The only explanation of the reference to Appius's son-in-law must be that Cicero saw Gnæus Pompeius at his father's villa at Tarentum. But most editors would omit *ad generum*.

made, and do not reflect, in my opinion, on your personal honour, I have never provoked, but neither have I exerted myself to repress them. If there is anyone who thinks that no man is ever sincerely reconciled with another, he does not prove our want of sincerity, but betrays his own, and at the same time shews that he thinks no worse of me than he does of you. But if, again, there is anyone who dislikes my administration in the province, and considers himself injured by a certain dissimilarity between my arrangements and yours—the fact being that we have both acted conscientiously, though we took different lines—such a man I do not care to have for a friend. Your liberality, as became a great noble, was on a larger scale in the province; if mine is somewhat more restricted—though your second year, owing to the hardness of the times, somewhat clipped the wings of your generous and bountiful nature—men ought not to be surprised, since I have always been naturally disinclined to be lavish at the expense of others, and am influenced by the same hard times as others are,

“That I am sour to them to keep my conscience sweet.”

Your giving me information about affairs in the city was pleasant to me, both for its own sake, and because you shewed your intention of keeping all my commissions in mind. Among them there is one that I beg you to regard as supreme—to see that to the business in which I am now engaged there should be no addition made either of responsibility or time; and to ask Hortensius, our fellow augur and friend, if ever he has thought or done anything for my sake, to give up this two-year proposal of his also, than which nothing could be more unfriendly to me. To give you the information you want about my proceedings, I left Tarsus on the 7th of October for Amanus. I write this on the day after that in camp, in the territory of Mopsuestia. Whatever I do I will write and tell you, nor will I ever send a letter home to my family without adding one directed to be delivered to you. As to your question about the Parthians, I think they were not Parthians at all. The Arabs, who were there with a semi-Parthian equipment, are said to have all gone back. People say that there is no

enemy in Syria.¹ Pray write to me as often as possible about both your own and my affairs, and on the state of the Republic generally. About the last I am the more anxious, because I gather from your letter that our friend Pompey is about to go to Spain.²

CCXXII (F VIII, 8)

M. CÆLIUS RUFUS TO CICERO (IN CILICIA)

ROME (OCTOBER)

THOUGH I have some political news for you, yet I don't think I have anything to tell you that you will be more glad to hear than this: I have to inform you that C. Sempronius Rufus—Rufus, your pet darling!—has been convicted of vexatious prosecution with universal applause. You ask, in what case? Well, he indicted M. Tuccius (who had formerly prosecuted him) after the Roman games for illegal violence under the *lex Plotia*. His object was this: he saw that, unless some defendant were put on the list for trial whose case could take priority, he would have to stand his own trial this year. Moreover, he had no doubt what would happen to him.³ This prosecution was a small favour he preferred to do to his accuser more than anyone else! Accordingly, without anyone backing his indictment, he came down into the forum and indicted Tuccius. As soon as I heard of it, I hurried without waiting for a summons to the defendant's bench. I rose, and without saying a word on the merits of

¹ Of course this information is subsequent to the public despatch preceding; but neither that nor this appears to be accurate. The Parthians *had* crossed the Euphrates and had been repulsed by Cassius, as we shall see; but Cicero is always unwilling to give credit either to Cassius or Bibulus in this matter.

² To his province, to which, however, he never went.

³ A prosecution *de vi* took precedence of one *de ambitu*. Therefore, if he prosecuted Tuccius for *vis*, Tuccius would have to wait before he could bring his accusation *de ambitu*. As there was no case in the accusation *de vi*, Sempronius was accused of bringing a vexatious action, *i.e.*, an action not sincerely meant to be what it pretended, but begun merely for obstructive purposes. Roman games, 4th-19th September.

the case, I shewed up his whole character and career, even bringing in the matter of Vestorius, and telling the story of his having surrendered to you as a favour "whatever Vestorius held contrary to his own legal rights."¹

The following hotly contested case is also at present taking up the attention of the forum.² M. Servilius had, as was to be expected from his previous conduct, become utterly bankrupt, and had nothing left which he was not prepared to sell to anybody, and when he became my client had already exposed himself to the most violent scandal. But when Pausanias initiated proceedings against him for "fraudulent possession of the money" (I acting as counsel for the defence), the prætor Laterensis declined to allow the action. Then Q. Pilius, the connexion of our friend Atticus, initiated proceedings against him for extortion. Much talk at once arose about the case, and strong remarks began to be made about a conviction. Moved by this storm of popular feeling, Appius the younger laid an information as to a sum of money having been transferred from his father's estate to Servilius, and stated that 81 sester tia (about £648) had been deposited to enable him to secure the collusive failure of the prosecution.³ You are surprised at this

¹ Reading and interpretation are doubtful. Apparently Cicero, as arbitrator between Sempronius and Vestorius, had decided in favour of the latter; but Sempronius, while refusing to submit, pretended to yield as a favour what (as he alleged) Vestorius was wrongfully withholding from him, the point being that he himself is in the wrong all the time.

² The story is difficult to follow. C. Claudius Pulcher, after his prætorship of Asia (B.C. 56-53), was in B.C. 51 condemned for extortion. He either died or left Rome, and his property was not sufficient to pay the damages. Pausanias (unknown to us) asked leave to prosecute his *legatus* (or other official), M. Servilius, for wrongful possession of money (*quo ea pecunia pervenisset*), but the prætor Laterensis decided that there was no case to go into court. Then Pilius began a prosecution of him *de repetundis*, but this was anticipated by another by Appius (son of C. Claudius), who prosecuted him for wrongful possession, being able to make out a better *prima facie* case. The votes in this trial were equal, but Servilius was left in a questionable position by an irregularity of the prætor in recording the verdict. Cælius says that he is now going to be prosecuted by Pilius on the original charge of extortion. The young Appius had made a mess of it, had exposed his own and his father's malpractices, and was himself now being prosecuted by members of Servilius's family.

³ *Prævaricatio*, where the professed prosecutors voluntarily, and for corrupt motives, allow the case to go against them.

folly; nay, what would you have said if you had heard him conducting the case, and the admissions which he made, foolish in the extreme as far as he was himself concerned, and positively shameful as regards his father?¹ The jury called upon to consider their verdict was the same as that which had assessed the damages in the former case. The votes having turned out to be equal, Laterensis, from imperfect acquaintance with the laws, announced the verdict of each of the *decuriæ* separately, and finally, according to the custom of the prætors, gave the decision "for the defendant." After leaving the court, Servilus being thenceforth regarded as acquitted, Laterensis read the 101st clause of the law, which contains the words "The verdict of the majority of the jurors shall be good and decisive." He thereupon did not enter him on the records as acquitted, but only entered a statement of the verdict of the several *decuriæ*.³ Upon Appius, however, applying for a new trial, he said that he had consulted L. Lollius⁴ and would record the facts. So that now, being neither acquitted nor condemned, Servilus will be at the disposal of Pilius for an action for extortion, with a reputation already damaged. For Appius, though he had already sworn that there was no collusion, did not venture to dispute the right to prosecute⁵ with Pilius, and has himself had proceedings begun against him for extortion by the Servilii, besides having been indicted for violence by a creature of his own, Sextius Tettius.⁶ They are a worthy pair!

As for political business, for many days past nothing at

¹ Because they confessed to his father having tried to get off by collusion with the prosecution, thereby acknowledging his guilt.

² *Non redigam*, lit. "I will not exact the money," i.e., the money alleged to have been fraudulently received.

³ Such a record would not, on the face of it, prove acquittal, because a man might be acquitted by a small majority in two *decuriæ* and yet be condemned by so large a majority in the third as not to have a majority of the whole jury in his favour as required by law.

⁴ Apparently a jurisconsult, but he is unknown.

⁵ *Divinatio*, a technical name for the trial between two or more rival claimants for the conduct of a prosecution.

⁶ These actions, meant to tie the hands of Appius and prevent his farther attacks on Servilius, were also probably grounded on his own revelations. He had, we may suppose, been with his father in Asia on his staff, and therefore, under the Julian law, was open to prosecution *de reperiundis*. See Pliny, *Ep.* iii. 9.

all has been done, owing to the suspense as to the arrangements to be made about the Gauls. At last, however, after frequent postponements and serious debates, and when Pompey's wishes had been clearly seen to incline in the direction of passing a decree for Cæsar quitting his province after the 1st of March next, a decree of the senate was passed, which I hereby send you, and some resolutions which were reduced to writing.

Resolutions of the Senate.

Twenty-ninth of September ; in the temple of Apollo ; the following assisted in drawing up the decree : L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, son of Gnæus, of the Fabian tribe ; Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius Scipio, son of Quintus, of the Fabian tribe ; L. Villius Annalis, son of Lucius, of the Pomptinian tribe ; C. Septimius, son of Titus, of the tribe Quirina ; C. Lucilius Hirrus, son of Gaius, of the tribe Pupinia ; C. Scribonius Curio, son of Gaius, of the tribe Popilia ; L. Atteius Capito, son of Lucius, of the tribe Aniensis ; M. Eppius, son of Marcus, of the tribe Terentina.

Seeing that M. Marcellus, the consul, has made mention of the consular provinces, on that subject the senators have voted as follows : L. Paullus, C. Marcellus, the consuls, shall, when they have entered on their office, on the first of the month of March that is about to fall within their year of office, bring the matter of the consular provinces before the senate, and shall not from the first of March bring any motion before the senate in preference thereto ; nor shall anything be brought before the senate in conjunction therewith by the consuls. And for the sake of that business they shall hold meetings of the senate, comitial days notwithstanding ; and shall draw up decrees of the senate. And when that business is being brought before the senate by the consuls, they may bring into the house those of the senators who are among the three hundred and sixty jurors without incurring penalties thereby. If on that matter it is necessary to bring any resolution before the people or plebs, Ser. Sulpicius and M. Marcellus, the consuls, the prætors, and the tribunes of the plebs, to whichever of them it seems good, shall bring it before the people or plebs. But if they shall fail

to bring it, whosoever are next in office shall bring it before people or plebs.

No one vetoed.

Twenty-ninth of September; in the temple of Apollo; the following assisted at drawing up the decree: L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, son of Gnæus, of the Fabian tribe; Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius Scipio, son of Quintus of the Fabian tribe; L. Villius Annalis, son of Lucius, of the Pomptinian tribe; C. Septimius, son of Titus, of the tribe Quirina; C. Lucilius Hirrus, son of Gaius, of the tribe Pupinia; C. Scribonius Curio, son of Gaius, of the tribe Popilia; L. Atteius Capito, son of Lucius, of the tribe Aniensis; M. Eppius, son of Marcus, of the tribe Terentina.

Seeing that M. Marcellus, the consul, has made mention of the consular provinces, on that subject the senators voted as follows: The senate is of opinion that none of those who have the power of vetoing or staying proceedings ought to offer any hindrance to a motion being brought before the house concerning the Republic of the Roman people, the Quirites, or a decree of the senate being made: whoso shall have so hindered or prohibited, the senate is of opinion that he has acted against the Republic. If anyone shall veto this decree, the senate orders that its resolution shall be committed to writing, and that the matter shall thereupon be brought before the senate (and people).

C. Cælius, L. Vinicius, P. Cornelius, C. Vibius Pansa, tribunes, vetoed this decree.

Ordered also by the senate concerning the soldiers now in the army of Gaius Cæsar: as to those of them who have served their full time or have pleas to allege whereby they ought to be discharged, a motion shall be brought before the house to take cognizance of them and to look into their cases. If anyone vetoes this decree, ordered that the resolution be reduced to writing, and a motion brought before this house thereon.

C. Cælius, C. Pansa, tribunes, vetoed this decree of the senate.

Ordered also by the senate that into the province of Ciliciâ, into the eight remaining provinces administered by ex-prætors

with authority of prætor, those who have been prætors and have not been to a province with imperium, such of them as in accordance with the decree of the senate are due to be sent into province as proprætors, shall be sent into provinces as by lot shall be assigned. If from the category of these, thus due to be sent into provinces, there be not sufficient in number to go into the said provinces, then from whichever in each case is the senior college of prætors who have not been to provinces, they shall in like manner go to provinces by lot: if they are not sufficient to make up the number, then the members of the college next in order shall have their names put into the lottery, until such time as the number is made up to such number as is due to be sent into provinces. If anyone vetoes this decree of the senate, let the resolution be reduced to writing.

C. Cælius, C. Pansa, tribunes, vetoed this decree of the senate.

The following observation also of Cn. Pompeius attracted attention, and gave people a very great feeling of security, when he said that he could not, without unfairness, settle anything about Cæsar's provinces before the 1st of March, but that after the 1st of March he would not hesitate. When asked, what if anyone on that date vetoed it, he said that it made no difference whether Cæsar refused to obey the senate, or secured some one to prevent the senate passing a decree. "What if," said some one else, "he shall determine both to be consul and to keep his army?" To which he answered—with what mildness!—"What if my son should choose to strike me with his stick?" By such words as these he has made people think that some negotiation was going on between Pompey and Cæsar. And so I think Cæsar is minded to adopt one of two alternatives—either to remain in his province, and not be a candidate this next year, or, if he succeeds in getting elected, to leave his province. Curio is preparing to oppose him at every point. What he can do I don't know. I clearly see this, that if Curio keeps his wits about him, even though he effects nothing, he cannot possibly come utterly to grief. Curio treats me in a very gentlemanly way, and has forced a troublesome business on me by his present. For if he had not given me those African beasts, which had been imported for him to use at his games,

the thing might have been omitted. Now, however, since give games I must, I would beg you, as I have often asked you before, to see that I have some beasts from your parts. I also commend to your attention the bond held by Sittius. I am sending my freedman Philo and the Greek Diogenes to Cilicia, to whom I have intrusted a message and a letter to you. Pray be so good as to give them, and the business on which I have sent them, your special attention. For in the letter, which I have given them for you, I have stated in detail how extremely important it is to me.

CCXXIII (F II, 9)

TO M. CÆLIUS RUFUS (AT ROME)

. CILICIA (NOVEMBER)

M. CICERO, proconsul, greets M. Cælius, curule ædile elect. First of all, as in duty bound, I congratulate you and express my delight at the rank which you have already attained, and your hopes of advancement in the future. It is somewhat late in the day: that, however, does not arise from my negligence, but from my ignorance of everything that is going on. For I am in a district where, partly from its distance, and partly from brigandage, all news is as late as possible in arriving. Besides congratulating you, I can scarcely find words to thank you for having had an election calculated, as you said in your letter, to give us an endless fund of laughter. And so, as soon as I heard the news, I imagined myself in that man's skin—you know whom I mean—and personified to myself all that "rising generation" about which he is always talking so big. "'Tis hard to say"—looking at you in my mind's eye the while, though far away, and as though I were talking to you face to face—

"By heaven, how great,
How grand the feat!"

But since it had surpassed my expectation, I began the quotation :

“A glad surprise
Before my eyes.”

In fact, I all on a sudden stepped out “gay as gay can be,” and when I was rebuked for being all but silly from excess of joy, I quoted in my defence, “Beyond all measure to express delight,” etc.¹ In short, while laughing at him, I almost became another like him. But I will write more about this, and much else besides about you and to you, as soon as I have got a minute to spare. Meanwhile however, my dear Rufus, I am deeply attached to you—you whom fortune gave me to be the promoter of my dignity, and such a scourge, not of my enemies only, but of my jealous rivals also, that they had reason to be sorry in some cases for their evil deeds, and in others even for their stupidities.

CCXXIV (F II, 10)

TO M. CÆLIUS RUFUS (AT ROME)

PINDENISSUS, 26 NOVEMBER

M. CICERO, *imperator*,² greets M. Cælius, curule ædile elect. Just see how letters fail to reach me! For I cannot be induced to believe that you have not sent me any letter since your election to the ædileship, considering the importance of the fact and the congratulation for which it called: on your account, because it was what I was hoping for, on that of Hillus³ (you see I lisp) because it was what I had not

¹ *Ego voluptatem animi nimiam summum esse errorem arbitror*—“I think the height of exultation the height of error” (*Traben ap Tusc.* iv. § 35). This is only a “defence” ironically.

² Cicero calls himself *imperator*, as having been greeted by that title by his soldiers in the field. This was a special usage of the title, to be distinguished from the same word applied to a magistrate with *imperium*. This title by acclamation could only be given once in the same war. It always comes after the name. The chief authority on this subject is Dio, 43, 44; cp. 70, 21.

³ Hillus for Hirrus. It doesn't seem much of a jest.

expected. However, be assured that I have received no letter from you since that glorious election, which transported me with delight. This makes me fear that the same may happen to my letter. For my part, I have never sent a single packet home without an inclosure for you, and nothing can be more delightful and beloved than you are to me. But let us return (not "weturn," for I have lost my lisp) to business.

It is as you desired. For you could have wished me, you say, to have no more trouble than just enough for the laurel.¹ You are afraid of the Parthians, because you have no confidence in the forces at my disposal. Well, the course of affairs has been as follows. On the announcement of a Parthian invasion, relying on certain difficulties in the country and on the natural features of the mountains, I led my army to Amanus, supported by a fairly good contingent of auxiliary forces, and by a certain prestige attaching to my reputation among populations who had no personal knowledge of me. For one often hears in these parts, "Is that the man by whom the city——, whom the senate——?" You can imagine the rest. By the time I had arrived at Amanus, which is a mountain common to me and Bibulus, the dividing line being the watershed, our friend Cassius, to my great joy, had repulsed the enemy from Antioch: Bibulus had taken over his province. Meanwhile, with my full forces I harassed the population of Amanus, our immemorial foes. Many were killed and taken prisoners, the rest were scattered: the fortified strongholds were taken by surprise and burnt. Accordingly, after a complete victory, having been acclaimed *imperator* at Issus—in which place, as I have often been told by you, Clitarchus related to you that Darius was conquered by Alexander—I drew off my army to the most disturbed part of Cilicia. There for the past twenty-five days I have been assailing a very strongly fortified town called Pindenissus with earthworks, pent-houses, towers, and with such great resources and energy, that the only thing now wanting to the attainment of the most glorious renown is the credit of taking the town; and if, as I hope, I do take it, I will then at once send an official despatch. For the present I content myself with writing this to you, to give you hope of attaining

¹ For a triumph.

your wish. But to return to the Parthians, the present summer has had the fairly fortunate result I have mentioned : for the next, there is much cause for alarm. Wherefore, my dear Rufus, be vigilant : in the first place, that I may have a successor : but if that shall turn out to be, as you write, too much of a business, then, what is easy enough, that no additional period be imposed. About politics I expect in your letters, as I have said before, current events and, even more, conjectures of the future. Wherefore I beg you earnestly to write me an account of everything in the greatest detail.

CCXXV (F VIII, 10)

M. CÆLIUS RUFUS TO CICERO (IN CILICIA)

ROME, 15 NOVEMBER

I HAVE been much disturbed by the despatches of C. Cassius and Deiotarus. For Cassius has written to say that the forces of the Parthians are across the Euphrates : Deiotarus that they started for our province by way of Commagene. For my part, my chief alarm has been on your account, knowing as I do what your state of preparation in the way of an army is, lest this inroad should in any way endanger your prestige. For I should have had some fear for your life, even if you had had a more adequate army : as it is, the slenderness of your forces made me forbode a retreat, not a battle, on your part. What view people would take of that, and how far what you were compelled to do would be likely to be considered satisfactory—about this I am still feeling anxious, and shall not cease to be alarmed till I hear of your having reached Italy. But the news of the passage of the Parthians has given rise to various suggestions. One man is for sending Pompey, another against Pompey's removal from the city, another for sending Cæsar with his own army, another the consuls ; no one, however, is for sending any who are in Rome without office by a senatorial

decree.¹ The consuls, moreover, for fear of this decree being passed for their leaving Rome in military uniform, or of the business being transferred to some one else, which would involve a slight upon themselves as having been passed over, are so unwilling to have any meeting of the senate at all, that they are getting a reputation for a want of energy in public business. But whether it is carelessness, or slackness, or the fear which I have suggested, behind this pretence of moderation there is concealed a disinclination to a province. No despatch has arrived from you, and had not that of Deiotarus followed his, it was beginning to be believed that Cassius, in order to represent devastation caused by himself as the work of the Parthians, invented the war, sent some Arabs into the province, and told the senate that they were Parthians. Wherefore I advise you to describe minutely and cautiously the state of things in your part of the world, whatever it is, that you may not be said either to have been filling some particular person's sails, or to have kept back what it was important to know. We have now come to the last period of the year: for I write this letter on the 15th of November. I see plainly that nothing can be done before the 1st of January. You know how slow and ineffective Marcellus is, and how dilatory Servius. What sort of men do you suppose they are, or how can they possibly do what is against their inclination, when things which they do wish they yet carry on so languidly as to give the impression of not wishing them? Again, when the new magistrates come into office, if there is a Parthian war, this question will take up their first months. But if, on the other hand, there turns out to be no war, or only one such as you or your successors can manage with a small reinforcement, I perceive that Curio will bestir himself with two objects: first, to take something away from Cæsar; and, secondly, to bestow something on Pompey, however insignificant and valueless the contribution may be. Moreover, Paullus talks about the province with irrational violence. His intemperance will be resisted by our friend Furnius: about several others I cannot form an opinion. This is all I know: other possible events I cannot yet decipher. I know that time brings

¹ Which was regarded as unconstitutional, and only to be justified by extreme circumstances. See Cæsar, *B. C. i. 6, § 5*.

many developments and upsets many arrangements: but whatever is going to happen will be confined within these limits. I have this addition to make to the proceedings of Curio—his proposal as to the Campanian land: as to which they say that Cæsar is indifferent, but that Pompey is much opposed, lest it should be unoccupied and at Cæsar's disposal when he returns. As to your leaving your province, I cannot promise to take measures to get a successor appointed: but I will at least pledge myself that your time is not prolonged. It is for you to consider whether, if the state of affairs, if the senate urge you to stay, if a refusal on our part cannot decently be made, you choose to persevere in your determination. My only business is to remember with what solemnity at your departure you laid the injunction on me not to allow of its happening.

CCXXVI (F II, 7)

TO C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO (IN ROME)

CILICIA, 10 DECEMBER

It is not usual to find fault with a tardy congratulation, especially if it has been omitted by no negligence: for I am far off, and news reaches me slowly. However, I both congratulate you and heartily wish that your tribunate may redound to your lasting reputation; and I exhort you to direct and control everything by your own good sense, and not allow yourself to be carried away by suggestions of others. There is no one who can give you wiser advice than you can give yourself: you will never make a slip, if you listen to your own heart. I don't write this inconsiderately: I am fully conscious to whom I am writing: I know your courage, I know your good sense. I am not afraid of your acting timidly or foolishly, if you maintain what you feel in your own heart to be right. To what a political situation you have, I don't say fallen, but come—for it is by, your own deliberate choice and not by chance that you have brought

your tribuneship into the very midst of a crisis—you, of course, perceive. I do not doubt that you are considering how decisive in politics is the choice of seasons, how rapidly events shift, how uncertain are results, how pliable are men's wills, what treachery, what falseness, there is in life. But I beseech you, Curio, give your whole heart and mind, not to any new principle, but to that which I mentioned at the beginning of my letter: commune with your own thoughts, take your own self into council, listen to yourself, obey yourself. It is not easy to find anyone capable of giving better advice to another than you are: to yourself, at any rate, no one will give better. Good heavens! why am I not there to be, if you will, the spectator of your glory, or the sharer, or partner, or assistant in your counsels? Although of this you do not in the least stand in need, yet, after all, the greatness and intensity of my affection would have secured my being of some use to you by my advice. I will write at greater length to you at another time: for within the next few days I intend to send some letter-carriers from my own establishment, that, since I have performed a public service with good results and to my own satisfaction, I may in one despatch give an account to the senate of the events of the whole summer. As to your election to the priesthood, you will learn from the letter which I delivered to your freedman Thraso how much trouble I have taken, and how difficult a matter it has been to deal with and maintain. For yourself, Curio, in the name of your uncommon affection for me, and my own unparalleled one for you, I beg you not to allow any extension of time to be made in my case to this burden of a province. I urged this on you when I was with you, and when I had no idea that you were going to be tribune this year, and I have often made the same request by letter; but then it was made to you as a member of the senate,¹ who was yet a young man of the highest rank and the greatest popularity, now it is to a tribune, and that tribune a Curio: not to get any novel

¹ Reading *senatore* with the MSS. It seems to me evidently right. Cicero says that when he first appealed to Curio, he was only a private member of the senate, with only such influence as his rank and popularity gave him—now he is a tribune who could *veto* any such measure, and therefore had as great power in the matter as any man could have. I do not think that Cicero would have called Curio his *sectator*, especially when wishing to secure his services.

decree—which is usually somewhat more difficult—but to prevent any novelty : to support both a decree of the senate and laws, and to allow the terms under which I left Rome to remain as they are. This I earnestly beg of you again and again.

CCXXVII (A V, 20)

TO ATTICUS (IN EPIRUS)

IN CAMP AT PINDENISSUS, 19 DECEMBER

ON the morning of the Saturnalia (17th December) the Pindenissetæ surrendered to me, on the fifty-seventh day from the beginning of our investment of them. "Who the mischief are your Pindenissetæ? who are they?" you will say: "I never heard their name." Well, what am I to do? Could I turn Cilicia into an Ætolia or a Macedonia? Let me tell you this, that with an army such as mine, and in a place like this, such a big business was impossible. You shall have it all *en abrégé*, as you agreed in your last letter to take it. You know about my arrival at Ephesus, for you have congratulated me on my enthusiastic reception on that day, which gave me as much pleasure as anything ever did in my life. Thence, after a surprising reception in such towns as lay on my road, I arrived at Laodicea on the 31st of July. I remained there two days in the midst of great enthusiasm, and by my conciliatory language removed the rankling injuries of the last four years. I did the same afterwards during my five days stay at Apamea and three days at Synnada, five at Philomelium, ten at Iconium. Nothing could be more impartial, mild, or dignified, than my administration of justice there. Thence I came to the camp on the 24th of August; on the 28th I inspected the army at Iconium. From this camp, on receipt of serious news as to the Parthians, I started for Cilicia by way of that part of Cappadocia which borders on Cilicia, with the design of impressing upon the Armenian Artavasdes and the Parthians themselves that they were precluded from entering Cappadocia. After having been encamped for five days at Cybistra in Cappadocia, I got

intelligence that the Parthians were at a long distance from that entrance into Cappadocia, and were rather threatening Cilicia. I therefore marched rapidly into Cilicia by the "Gates" of Taurus. I arrived at Tarsus on the 5th of October. Thence I pressed on to Mount Amanus, which divides Syria from Cilicia by the line of its watershed—a mountain full of immemorial enemies. Here, on the 13th of October, we cut a large number of the enemy to pieces. We took some very strongly fortified posts by a night attack of Pomptinus's, and by one led by myself in the morning, and burnt them. I was greeted as *imperator* by the soldiers. For a few days we were encamped on the very spot which Alexander had occupied against Darius at Issus, a commander not a little superior to either you or me! Having stayed there five days, and having ravaged and devastated Amanus, we evacuated that place. For you know that there are things called "panics," called also "war's idle rumours."¹ From the report of our arrival encouragement was at once given to Cassius, then confined to Antioch, and alarm inspired in the Parthians. Accordingly, as they were retiring from that town, Cassius pursued them and gained a handsome victory. In the course of this retreat the Parthian leader, Osaces, a man in high authority, received a wound of which a few days afterwards he died. My name became very popular in Syria. Meanwhile Bibulus arrived. I suppose he wanted to be on an equality with me in the matter of this vain acclamation of *imperator*. In this same Mount Amanus he begins "looking for a bay-leaf in a wedding cake."² But he lost the whole of his first cohort and the centurion of the first line, a man of high rank in his own class, Asinius Dento, and the other centurions of the same cohort, as well as a military tribune, Sext. Lucilius, son of T. Gavius Cæpio, a man of wealth and high position. It was really a very galling blow both in itself and in the time of its reception. I was at Pindenissus, the most strongly fortified town of Eleutherocilicia,³ never peaceful within living memory. The

¹ τὰ πανικὰ, τὰ κινὰ τοῦ πολέμου. See Polyb. xxix. 6, πολλὰ κινὰ τοῦ πολέμου.

² An easy feat. Wedding cakes were baked on bay-leaves.

³ The *Eleutherocilices* were the mountain tribes that had not been completely subjected to the Roman province.

people were fierce and brave, and furnished with everything necessary for standing a siege. We surrounded it with stockade and ditch, with a huge earthwork, pent-houses, an exceedingly lofty tower, a great supply of artillery, a large body of archers. After great labour and preparation I finished the business without loss to my army, though with a large number of wounded. I am spending a merry Saturnalia, and so are my soldiers, to whom I have given up all spoil except captives: the captives were sold on the third day of the Saturnalia (19th December), the day on which I write this. The sum realized at the tribunal is 12,000 sester tia (about £96,000). I intend to hand over the army to my brother Quintus to lead hence into winter quarters in the disturbed districts. I am myself going back to Laodicea.

So much for this. But to return to points omitted. As to what you urge upon me most warmly, and which in fact is more important than anything else, namely, your anxiety that I should satisfy my carping Ligurian critic,¹ may I die if anything could be more fastidious than my conduct. And I do not now speak of it as "self-restraint," which is a virtue considered capable of resisting pleasure: while the fact is that I never in all my life felt such pleasure as I do at my own integrity. And it is not so much the reputation I get by it—though that is of the highest—as the thing itself that delights me. In short, it was worth the trouble: I never appreciated myself or knew fully of what I was capable in this direction. I have good reason for being puffed up. Nothing could be more splendid. Meanwhile, here's a score for me! Ariobarzanes is alive and a king all owing to me. By my prudence and prestige, and by refusing to receive even the visits, to say nothing of the bribes, of the conspirators against his life, I have, merely *en passant*, saved a king and a kingdom. In the meantime from Cappadocia not the value of a hair! I have recovered Brutus from his dejection, whom I love no less than you do, I had almost said, than I do you. And I almost hope that throughout my year of office not a farthing's expense will be caused to my province. There's the whole story for you.

¹ Supposed to refer to P. Ælius Ligur, tribune in B.C. 57, and a bitter opponent.

I am now composing an official despatch to send to Rome. It will be somewhat fuller of matter than if I had sent it from Amanus. But to think that you won't be at Rome! And yet everything depends on the 1st of March. For I am afraid, if, on the question of the province coming up, Cæsar shall refuse compliance, I may be kept here. If you were there when this was going on, I should not have been at all afraid. I return to the city news, which, after a long interval of ignorance, I have at length learnt from your most delightful letter received on the 16th of December. This was conveyed by your freedman Philogenes after a very long and far from safe journey. For the letter you say that you delivered to the slaves of Lænius I have not received. I am delighted about Cæsar, and the decrees of the senate, and at what you expect to happen. If he gives way to these we are safe. That Seius got scorched in Plætorius's fire does not grieve me much.¹ I long to know why Luceius has been so hot about Q. Cassius, and what has been done about it. For myself, as soon as I arrive at Laodicea I am bidden to invest Quintus, your sister's son, with the *toga virilis*, and I will keep a more than usually careful eye upon him. Deiotarus, who has been of great assistance to me, is, according to a letter received from him, about to come to Laodicea with our two boys.² I am expecting another letter from you from Epirus, that I may get a notion not only of your business life, but of your holiday also. Nicanor serves me well and receives liberal treatment at my hands. I think I shall send him to Rome with my official despatch, to secure its being conveyed with more than common promptitude, and that he may also bring me trustworthy intelligence about you and from you. That your Alexis so often puts in a greeting to me is gratifying. But why does he not treat me to a letter of his own, as my Alexis does you.³ I am looking out for a horn for Phæmius. But enough of this. Take

¹ M. Plætorius Cestianus, condemned for extortion; M. Seius (ædile B.C. 75) had in some way been involved.

² His son Marcus and nephew Quintus, who had been on a visit to the younger Deiotarus. See Letters CCVIII, CCXVII.

³ "My Alexis" means Cicero's secretary Tiro. Tiro writes letters to Atticus: Alexis only adds a complimentary postscript in those of Atticus to Cicero.

care of your health, and let me know when you think of going to Rome. Good-bye! good-bye!

I have recommended your interests and your agents in very warm terms to Thermus, both in a personal interview at Ephesus and now by letter, and I gathered that he was himself very anxious to serve you. Pray, as I have often mentioned before, see about the house of Pammenes,¹ and take care that the boy is not deprived, by any means, of what he now possesses through our joint support. I not only think that this concerns the honour of us both, but it will also gratify me personally very much.

CCXXVIII (F VII, 32)

TO P. VOLUMNIUS EUTRAPELUS (AT ROME)

CILICIA (DECEMBER)

OWING to your having in familiar style, as you were quite entitled to do, dropped your *prænomen* in your letter to me, I was at first doubtful whether it did not come from Volumnius the senator, with whom I am very intimate, but presently the *εὐτραπεία* of the letter itself convinced me that it was yours.² In that letter I was delighted with everything except this: you are not shewing yourself a very energetic agent in maintaining my rights in my mines of (Attic) salt. For you say that, ever since my departure, everybody's *bons mots*, and among those even Sestius's,³ are fathered on me.

¹ Pammenes, an Athenian rhetorician, of about the same age as Cicero, mentioned in *Orat.* § 105, as a great admirer of Demosthenes. It does not seem certain that this is the same man. At any rate, whoever he was, he seems to have died, and his son to have had some difficulty in maintaining his right to his house, in which Cicero and Atticus had helped him.

² *εὐτραπεία*, "gracious playfulness," suggesting his friend's cognomen *Eutrapelus*.

³ Though it cannot be proved, there is no reason why this may not refer to P. Sestius, Cicero's client of B.C. 56, and also the author of the speech which it gave Catullus a fit of the colic to read or hear read

What ! do you allow that ? Don't you stand up for me ? Don't you protest ? Why, I did hope that I had left my *bons mots* with such a clear stamp on them, that their style might be recognized at a glance. But as there is so much scum in the city, that nothing can be so graceless as not to seem graceful¹ to some one, do your best, an you love me, to maintain, on your solemn affidavit,² that they are none of mine, unless sharp double meaning, subtle hyperbole, neat pun, laughable *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*—unless everything else, in fact, which I set forth in the person of Antonius in my second book *de Oratore*,³ shall appear *en règle* and really witty. For as to your complaints about the law courts I care much less. Let all the defendants, for what I care, go hang ! If Seliis himself is eloquent enough to establish his freedom, I don't trouble myself. But my prerogative of wit, please let us defend by any amount of injunctions. In that department you are the only rival I fear : I don't think anything of the rest. Do you suppose I am laughing at you ? I never knew before that you were so sharp ! But, by Hercules, joking apart, I did think your letter very witty and neatly turned. But those particular stories,⁴ laughable as they in fact were, did not, all the same, make me laugh. For I am anxious that the friend to whom you refer should have as much weight as possible in his tribuneship, both for his own sake—for, as

(Cat. 44). Though Cicero may have had every respect for him, he may also have thought poorly of his style of wit. Cicero's own faculty for witticisms is often referred to, and at times got him into trouble, as in the camp of Pompey in B.C. 49-48 (2 *Phil.* § 30). For the poor style of Sestius's writing see Letter CCCXIV.

¹ He uses two words, *ἀκρότης* and *venustum*, which involve a play on words—"without Cytherea" and "Venus-like"—which cannot well be represented in English.

² *Sacramento*, properly the deposit paid into court by the parties to a suit as security.

³ *De Oratore*, ii. § 235 *seq.*, where, however, the speaker is not Antonius, but C. Iulius Cæsar Strabo Vopiscus. The *de Oratore* was composed in B.C. 55.

⁴ *Illa*. Editors generally wish to insert some word here, such as *Curionis* or *extrema*, to make the meaning clear. But we must remember that Cicero is answering a letter, and his correspondent would have no doubt of his meaning, though we are left to guess it. The next sentence shews that the reference is to Curio, of whose election Cicero therefore knows, which dates the letter as not earlier than December. See Letter CCXXV.

you know, he is a great favourite of mine—and also, by Hercules, for that of the Republic, which, however ungrateful to myself it may be, I shall never cease to love. You, however, my dear Volumnius, since you have begun doing so, and now see also that it gives me pleasure, write to me as often as possible about affairs in the city, about politics. I like the gossiping style of your letter. Furthermore, speak seriously to Dolabella, whom I see and believe to be very anxious for my regard, and to be most affectionately disposed towards me: encourage him in that disposition, and make him wholly mine; not, by Hercules, that there is anything lacking in him, but as I am very much set upon it, I don't think I am shewing too much anxiety.

CCXXIX (F XIII, 53)

TO Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS (PROPRÆTOR
ASIA¹)

CILICIA

I HAVE long been very intimate with L. Genucilius Curvus, who is a very excellent man and of an exceedingly grateful disposition. I recommend him to you without reserve, and introduce him to you, in the first place, that you may give him facilities generally in all his affairs, so far as your honour and position will allow—and, indeed, that will be in everything, for he will never ask anything of you inconsistent with his own character, or, indeed, with yours.

¹ Thermus was proprætor in Asia B.C. 52-50. He was a strong Optimate, and we find him in arms for Pompey in B.C. 49 (Cæs. B. C. i. 12). Cæsar calls him prætor in B.C. 49, but that is probably a loose expression for *prætorius*. This and the rest of the letters for this year are formal letters of introduction or recommendation. Their chief interest is the light they throw upon the financial position and dealings of a province. Cicero prided himself upon the composition of such letters, but it will be remembered that he warned his friends that they were not to be taken too seriously unless he gave special indications to that effect.

But in a special manner also I commend to your protection his business concerns in Hellespontus : first, to enable him to maintain the privilege in regard to land-holding, which the state of Parium gave him by decree, and which he has always maintained without dispute ; and, in the second place, that you should, in case of his being involved in a suit with a Hellespontian, refer it to that diocese.¹ However, I do not think that, having recommended him with the utmost earnestness to you in general, I need go into particular cases affecting him. The upshot is this : whatever attention, kindness, or mark of honour you bestow on Genucius, I shall consider that you have bestowed on me and my interests.

CCXXX (F XIII 56)

TO Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS (IN ASIA)

CILICIA

CLUVIUS² of Puteoli is very attentive to and intimate with me. He believes that, having business in your province, unless, during your governorship, he has secured it by a letter of recommendation from me, he will have to put it down as lost and hopeless. Well, now, since so heavy a burden is laid on me by a very kind friend, I will also lay a burden on you, warranted by your eminent services to me ; and yet in doing so I am unwilling to be troublesome to you. The people of Mylasa and Alabanda owe Cluvius money. Euthydemus told me, when I was at Ephesus, that he would see that *ecclesi*³ were sent from Mylasa to Rome.

¹ *διοικησις*, i.e., the administrative district of Hellespontus, the district along the Hellespont and Propontis (*Dardanelles* and *Sea of Marmora*). The chief town was Cyzicus. Parium was about sixty miles to the west of it, mod. *Kamaries*.

² M. Cluvius was a banker of Puteoli. He afterwards made Cicero heir to part of his property (*Att.* xiii. 46).

³ Commissioners in a province authorized to settle a money or other claim, which could be heard at Rome, whereas *legati* could only petition the senate for some grant or order.

That has not been done. I hear that legates have been sent; but I prefer *edicti*, in order that some settlement may be made. Therefore I beg you to order them and the Alabandians to send *edicti* to Rome. Besides this, Philocles of Alabanda has mortgaged some property to Cluvius. The time of the mortgage has expired. I would like you to see that he either gives up possession of the property mortgaged and surrenders it to Cluvius's agents, or pays the money; and farther, that the people of Heraclea and Bargylia, who are also in his debt, should either pay the money or give him a lien on their revenues. The people of Caunus also owe him money, but they allege that they have placed the money on deposit. I should like you to investigate that, and, if you ascertain that they have not deposited the money, either by edict or decree, to see that Cluvius's claim to interest is secured to him by your decision.¹ I am the more anxious on these points, because the interests of our friend Cn. Pompeius is involved also, and because he appears to me to be even more anxious about it than Cluvius himself.² I am very desirous that he should be satisfied with my exertions on his behalf. On these matters I earnestly and repeatedly ask your assistance.

CCXXXI (F XIII, 55)

TO Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS (IN ASIA)

CILICIA

ALTHOUGH, when I spoke to you at Ephesus of the business of my legate M. Anneius, I gathered that you were strongly inclined to do anything for his own sake, nevertheless, I value M. Anneius so highly, and think that you value me so highly, that I do not hesitate to allow my recommendation to be added as a finishing stroke to your exist-

¹ If the money was duly deposited at a bank or temple, interest would not be any longer payable.

² Cluvius appears to be acting for Pompey, and some suppose that Pompey was the real creditor in all these cases.

ing willingness to serve him. For, though I have long been attached to M. Anneius—as I have practically shewn by offering him a legation unasked, after having refused many who asked for it—yet, since he has been associated with me in war and the conduct of military affairs, I have come to know that his courage, good sense, honour, and loyalty to myself are so eminent, that I now value him as highly as anyone in the world. You know that he has a suit with the people of Sardis : I explained the merits of the case to you at Ephesus : but you will, nevertheless, inquire into it more easily and satisfactorily on the spot. As to the rest, by Hercules, I long hesitated what exactly to write to you. For your manner of deciding questions at law is justly celebrated, and known to your high credit. We, again, have no need of anything in this case, but that you should decide the question according to your usual principles. But yet, since I am fully aware how great the influence of a prætor is—especially a prætor whose character for honesty, firmness, and equity is acknowledged on all hands—I do ask of you, in the name of our very close intimacy and of the many mutual good services, which have benefited us both equally, by a display of cordiality, by an exercise of influence, and by an exertion of zeal to convince M. Anneius, not only that you are his friend (this he does not doubt, for he has often remarked it to me), but that you have been made much more his friend by this letter of mine. Finally, I don't think you feel any hesitation as to how well you will be investing your kindness with a man of the most grateful disposition and most excellent principles.

CCXXXII (F XIII, 61)

TO P. SILIUS NERVA (PROPRÆTOR OF
BITHYNIA AND PONTUS)

CILICIA

I THINK you know that I was very intimate with T. Pinnius. This fact he testified by his will, for he appointed me both a

guardian and an heir in the second degree. To his son, who is attached to me and is a man of learning and good character, the people of Nicæa owe a large sum of money, amounting to eight million sesterces (about £64,000), and, as I am informed, they are especially anxious to pay him. I shall be much obliged therefore—for not only the other guardians, who know how highly you value me, but the boy himself also are convinced that you will do anything for me—if you will take the trouble to see, as far as your honour and position will allow, that as large a part of the money as possible is paid to Pinnius on account of the people of Nicæa.

CCXXXIII (F XIII, 62)

TO P. SILIUS NERVA (IN BITHYNIA)

CILICIA

I WAS very much obliged to you in the business of Atilius—for though I was late in the field I managed by your kindness to save a respectable Roman knight—and, by Hercules, I always did believe that you were one on whom I could rely, owing to the attachment to and rare friendship with Lamia common to us both. Accordingly, first of all I offer you my thanks for having freed me from all annoyance; then I follow this up with a piece of impudence—but I will make up for it: for I will always pay you attention and stand up for you with the utmost energy. Pray, if you care for me, be sure you hold my brother Quintus in the same regard as you do me. By so doing you will crown your kindness and greatly enhance it.

CCXXXIV (F XIII, 64)

TO P. SILIUS NERVA (IN BITHYNIA)

CILICIA

My friend Nero¹ thanks me in terms of quite astonishing and incredible warmth, saying that no mark of honour which could have been given him was omitted by you. You will be richly rewarded by him, for he is the most grateful young fellow in the world. But, by heaven, I too am exceedingly obliged to you : for of all our men of rank I value none more than him. And so, if you do what he wished me to ask of you, I shall be supremely obliged : first, in the matter of Pausanias of Alabanda, if you would keep the business back till Nero arrives—I have gathered that he is very interested in him, and so I put this request strongly—and next if you would regard as specially commended to your care the people of Nysa,² whom Nero regards as his special friends and is most energetic in protecting and defending, so that this city may feel that its best protection consists in Nero being its patron. I have often recommended Servilius Strabo³ to you : I now do so with the greater earnestness that Nero has taken up his case. I only ask you to push on the business, so as not to leave an innocent man a prey to the greed of some governor unlike yourself. This will be a favour to me ; but I shall also consider it an instance of your natural kindness. The upshot of this letter is that you should advance Nero in all possible ways, as you have started doing

¹ T. Claudius Nero, the future husband of Livia. He seems to have visited Cicero with a view to marrying Tullia, but was too late, Terentia having already betrothed her to Dolabella. See Letter CCLXXV.

² Nysa, in Caria, was known at this time for several eminent philosophers and rhetoricians, and was therefore probably visited by Roman youths, and had need of a *patronus* (Strabo, xiv. 2, §§ 43-48).

³ Nothing is known of this man, apparently. He seems to be a Carian Greek, a freedman of some Servilius. It is a curious coincidence that the geographer Strabo studied at Nysa, and probably not long after this time.

and have done. Your province, unlike this of mine, offers a wide theatre¹ for displaying the glorious reputation of a young man of high birth, genius, and disinterested conduct. Wherefore, if he enjoys your support, as I am sure he will do and has done, he will be enabled to secure and bind to his interests most respectable bodies of clients which are a heritage from his ancestors. In this respect, if you give him your assistance, with the man himself you will have made a splendid investment of your kindness, but you will also have exceedingly obliged me.

CCXXXV (F XIII, 65)

TO P. SILIUS NERVA (PROPRÆTOR OF
BITHYNIA AND PONTUS)

CILICIA

I AM very intimate and in constant communication with P. Terentius Hispo, who is engaged in the collection of the pasture-dues as deputy-manager,² and many important services, equally advantageous to us both, have been interchanged between us. It is of capital importance to his reputation to settle the contracts with the remaining states. I don't forget that we tried to do that at Ephesus, but were quite unable to get the assent of the Ephesians. But since, as is the general opinion, and, as I understand, you have secured as well by your singular uprightness, as by your kindness and gentleness, that the slightest expression of your wish meets with the readiest consent of the Greeks to any object you have in view, I beg you with more than common

¹ What Cicero means by calling Bithynia a "theatre" is explained by reference to vol. i., p. 85.

² On the public pastures the inhabitants fed cattle, paying a fixed sum (*scriptura*) for the privilege. In Asia this *scriptura* was collected by companies of *publicani*, who paid a fixed sum to the treasury, and then covenanted with each state as to the amount payable. The head of such a company (consisting of equites) was called *magister*, the local agent *pro magistro*, on the analogy of *pro consule*, *pro prætore*, etc.

earnestness, for the sake of my credit, to determine that Hispo shall gain this distinction.¹ I may add that I am closely connected with the partners in the pasture company, not only because that company as a body is my client, but also because I am very intimate with most of the individual partners. By acting thus you will not only have assisted my friend Hispo in consequence of a recommendation of mine, and given the company still greater confidence in me, but you will yourself also receive the most ample reward from the regard of this most gratefully disposed man, as well as the thanks of the partners, who are men of the highest position, and you will have done me personally a very great kindness. Pray be assured that in your whole province and the whole sphere of your government there is nothing that you can do that could gratify me more.

CCXXXVI (F XIII, 9)

TO P. FURIUS CRASSIPES² (QUÆSTOR OF BITHYNIA)

CILICIA

ALTHOUGH in a personal interview I recommended as earnestly as I could to you the *publicani* of Bithynia, and though I gathered that by your own inclination, no less than from my recommendation, you were anxious to promote the advantage of that company in every way within your power, yet, since those interested thought it of great importance to them that I should inform you by letter what my feeling towards them was, I have not hesitated to write you this. For I wish you to believe that, while I have ever had the

¹ As agent for his company. The smoother things went, no doubt, the better for the agent, as in all businesses.

² For Crassipes, who was betrothed, if not married, to Tullia as her second husband, see Letter CVII. The breaking off the betrothal (*disidium*) or the divorce (*divortium*), we don't know which, had evidently not left him at enmity with Cicero.

greatest pleasure in doing as much as possible for the order of *publicani* generally, yet this particular company of Bithynia has my special good wishes. The company, owing to the rank and birth of its members, constitutes a very important section of the state;¹ for it is made up of members of the other companies; and it so happens that a very large number of this company are on extremely intimate terms with me, and especially the man who is at the present time at the head of the business, P. Rupilius, son of Publius, of the tribe Menenia, the master of that company. Such being the case, I beg you with more than common earnestness to protect Cn. Pupius, who is an employé of this company, by every sort of kindness and liberality within your power; and to secure, as you easily may, that his services shall be as satisfactory as possible to the company, while at the same time determining that the property and interests of the partners—as to which I am well aware how much power a quæstor possesses—should be secured and promoted. While you will in this be doing me a very great favour, I can at the same time from personal experience give you my promise, and pledge my word for it, that you will find the partners of the Bithynia company mindful of and grateful for any service you have rendered them.

CCXXXVII (F xv, 4)

Cicero remained in his province till the end of July, and did not reach Italy till the 25th November, nor Rome till the beginning of the following year. He was therefore absent from the struggle that was going on, but was kept informed, though imperfectly, by letters. Pompey's illness occurred at the beginning of the year, and outwardly things seemed quieter. But the storm was brewing, and the first symptom of it was Curio's change of parties, influenced by an enormous bribe. As tribune he stood in the way of the senatorial decree for Cæsar's recall, and on going out of office (10th December) went straight to Cæsar at Ravenna and urged him to march on Rome. The letters of the year (barren, of course, of speeches or literature) give perhaps the most lively picture extant in antiquity of a political movement. It

B.C. 50. Coss.,
L. Æmilius
Paullus,
C. Claudius
Marcellus.

¹ Or, leaving out *pars*, "is the most important in the city."

is the nearest thing to the modern special correspondent that we have, yet in the more fascinating shape of letters, spontaneous, unconscious, and touched with passion.

TO M. PORCIUS CATO (AT ROME)

CILICIA (JANUARY)

YOUR own immense prestige and my unvarying belief in your consummate virtue have convinced me of the great importance it is to me that you should be acquainted with what I have accomplished, and that you should not be ignorant of the equity and disinterestedness with which I protected our allies and governed my province. For if you knew these facts, I thought I should with greater ease secure your approval of my wishes.

Having entered my province on the last day of July, and seeing that the time of year made it necessary for me to make all haste to the army, I spent but two days at Laodicea, four at Apamea, three at Synnada, and the same at Philomelium.¹ Having held largely attended assizes in these towns, I freed a great number of cities from very vexatious tributes, excessive interest, and fraudulent debt. Again, the army having before my arrival been broken up by something like a mutiny,² and five cohorts—without a legate or a military tribune, and, in fact, actually without a single centurion—having taken up its quarters at Philomelium, while the rest of the army was in Lycaonia, I ordered my legate M. Anneius to bring those five cohorts to join the main army; and, having thus got the whole army together into one place, to pitch a camp at Iconium in Lycaonia. This order having been energetically executed by him, I arrived at the camp myself on the 24th of August, having meanwhile, in accordance with the decree of the senate, collected in the intervening days a strong body of reserve men, a very

¹ These times do not exactly agree with those given in Letters CCVII and CCXXVII, but the differences are unimportant and might easily be accounted for by lapse of memory.

² *Seditione quadam*. He qualifies *seditione*, as he doesn't wish to say that there was a downright mutiny; *quadam* might be translated "so to speak." He had heard of these difficulties in the army, but hoped that they had been put right by Appius Claudius.

adequate force of cavalry, and a contingent of volunteers from the free peoples and allied sovereigns. While this was going on, and when, after reviewing the army, I had on the 28th of August begun my march to Cilicia, some legates sent to me by the sovereign of Commagene announced, with every sign of panic, yet not without some foundation, that the Parthians had entered Syria. On hearing this I was rendered very anxious both for Syria and my own province, and, in fact, for all the rest of Asia. Accordingly, I made up my mind that I must lead the army through the district of Cappadocia, which adjoins Cilicia. For if I had gone straight down into Cilicia, I could easily indeed have held Cilicia itself, owing to the natural strength of Mount Amanus—for there are only two defiles opening into Cilicia from Syria, both of which are capable of being closed by insignificant garrisons owing to their narrowness, nor can anything be imagined better fortified than is Cilicia on the Syrian side—but I was disturbed for Cappadocia, which is quite open on the Syrian side, and is surrounded by kings, who, even if they are our friends in secret, nevertheless do not venture to be openly hostile to the Parthians. Accordingly, I pitched my camp in the extreme south of Cappadocia at the town of Cybistra, not far from Mount Taurus, with the object at once of covering Cilicia, and of thwarting the designs of the neighbouring tribes by holding Cappadocia. Meanwhile, in the midst of this serious commotion and anxious expectation of a very formidable war, king Deiotarus, who has with good reason been always highly honoured in your judgment and my own, as well as that of the senate—a man distinguished for his goodwill and loyalty to the Roman people, as well as for his eminent courage and wisdom—sent legates to tell me that he was on his way to my camp in full force. Much affected by his zeal and kindness, I sent him a letter of thanks, and urged him to hasten. However, being detained at Cybistra five days while maturing my plan of campaign, I rescued king Ariobarzanes, whose safety had been intrusted to me by the senate on your motion, from a plot that, to his surprise, had been formed against him: and I not only saved his life, but I took pains also to secure that his royal authority should be respected. Metras and Athenæus (the latter strongly com-

mended to me by yourself), who had been exiled owing to the persistent enmity of queen Athenais, I restored to a position of the highest influence and favour with the king. Then, as there was danger of serious hostilities arising in Cappadocia in case the priest,¹ as it was thought likely that he would do, defended himself with arms—for he was a young man, well furnished with horse and foot and money, and relying on² those all who desired political change of any sort—I contrived that he should leave the kingdom: and that the king, without civil war or an appeal to arms, with the full authority of the court thoroughly secured, should hold the kingdom with proper dignity. Meanwhile, I was informed by despatches and messengers from many sides, that the Parthians and Arabs had approached the town of Antioch in great force, and that a large body of their horsemen, which had crossed into Cilicia, had been cut to pieces by some squadrons of my cavalry and the prætorian cohort then on garrison duty at Epiphanea. Wherefore, seeing that the forces of the Parthians had turned their backs upon Cappadocia, and were not far from the frontiers of Cilicia, I led my army to Amanus with the longest forced marches I could. Arrived there, I learnt that the enemy had retired from Antioch, and that Bibulus was at Antioch. I thereupon informed Deiotarus, who was hurrying to join me with a large and strong body of horse and foot, and with all the forces he could muster, that I saw no reason for his leaving his own dominions, and that in case of any new event, I would immediately write and send to him. And as my intention in coming had been to relieve both provinces, should occasion arise, so now I proceeded to do what I had all along made up my mind was greatly to the interest of both provinces, namely, to reduce Amanus, and to remove from that mountain an eternal enemy. So I made a feint of retiring from the mountain and making for other parts of Cilicia: and having gone a day's march from Amanus and pitched a camp, on the 12th of October, towards evening,

¹ The priest of the temple of Bellona at Comana, who had command over a large body of slaves of the temple and its dependencies. It was a position of quasi-royal power. Pompey had confirmed or restored a certain Archelaus in this position.

² I venture to read *et fretus iis*, for Tyrrell's *ego tuto iis*, "with safety to those," which is a very doubtful construction.

at Epiphanea, with my army in light marching order I effected such a night march, that by dawn on the 13th I was already ascending Amanus. Having formed the cohorts and auxiliaries into several columns of attack—I and my legate Quintus (my brother) commanding one, my legate C. Pomptinus another, and my legates M. Anneius and L. Tullius the rest—we surprised most of the inhabitants, who, being cut off from all retreat, were killed or taken prisoners. But Erana, which was more like a town than a village, and was the capital of Amanus, as also Sepyra and Commoris, which offered a determined and protracted resistance from before daybreak till four in the afternoon—Pomptinus being in command in that part of Amanus—we took, after killing a great number of the enemy, and stormed and set fire to several fortresses. After these operations we lay encamped for four days on the spurs of Amanus, near the *Aræ Alexandri*,¹ and all that time we devoted to the destruction of the remaining inhabitants of Amanus, and devastating their lands on that side of the mountain which belongs to my province. Having accomplished this, I led the army away to Pindenissus, a town of the Eleutherocilices. And since this town was situated on a very lofty and strongly fortified spot, and was inhabited by men who have never submitted even to the kings, and since they were offering harbourage to deserters, and were eagerly expecting the arrival of the Parthians, I thought it of importance to the prestige of the empire to suppress their audacity, in order that there might be less difficulty in breaking the spirits of all such as were anywhere disaffected to our rule. I encircled them with a stockade and trench: I beleaguered them with six forts and huge camps: I assaulted them by the aid of earthworks, pent-houses, and towers:² and having employed numerous catapults and bowmen, with great personal labour, and without troubling the allies or costing them anything, I reduced them to such extremities that, after every region of their town had been battered down or fired, they surrendered to me on the fifty-seventh day. Their next neighbours were the people of Tebara, no less

¹ Some columns put up near the field of the battle of Issus by Alexander, or to mark the line of his march.

² That is, movable towers pushed up on rollers to the wall.

predatory and audacious : from them after the capture of Pindenissus I received hostages. I then dismissed the army to winter quarters ; and I put my brother in command, with orders to station the men in villages that had either been captured or were disaffected.

Well now, I would have you feel convinced that, should a motion be brought before the senate on these matters, I shall consider that the highest possible compliment has been paid me, if you give your vote in favour of a mark of honour¹ being bestowed upon me. And as to this, though I am aware that in such matters men of the most respectable character are accustomed to ask and to be asked, yet I think in your case that it is rather a reminder than a request which is called for from me. For it is you who have on very many occasions complimented me in votes which you delivered, who have praised me to the skies in conversation, in panegyric, in the most laudatory speeches in senate and public meeting : you are the man to whose words I ever attached such weight as to hold myself in possession of my utmost ambition, if your lips joined the chorus of my praise. It was you finally, as I recollect, who said, when voting against a *supplicatio* in honour of a certain illustrious and noble person,² that you would have voted for it, if the motion had related to what he had done in the city as consul. It was you, too, who voted for granting me a *supplicatio*, though only a civilian,³ not as had been done in many instances, "for good services to the state," but, as I remember, "for having saved the state."⁴ I pass over your having shared the hatred I excited,

¹ What Cicero wants is a *supplicatio* of as many days as the senate will grant, *i.e.*, days of solemn thanksgiving such as had been voted in honour of Cæsar's Gallic victories and on many other occasions.

² Probably P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, consul B.C. 57, who did much to secure Cicero's recall. He asked in vain for a *supplicatio*, or perhaps even a triumph, for his achievements in Cilicia B.C. 56-54. See Letter CXXV.

³ *Togato*. The consul in Rome, though he had *imperium*, was a civilian, and wore the *toga*, not the *paludamentum*. The difference has been expressed by distinguishing the *imperium domi* and *imperium militiae*, which latter he had if he commanded an army, and which a proconsul had when in a province. Thus, in his poem on his own times, Cicero had a line which he was fond of quoting :

"Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea laudi."

⁴ See vol. i., p. 64, and 2 *Phil.* § 2. In 2 *Phil.* § 13, he says the motion

the dangers I ran, all the storms that I have encountered, and your having been entirely ready to have shared them much more fully if I had allowed it; and finally your having regarded my enemy as your own; of whose death even—thus shewing me clearly how much you valued me—you manifested your approval by supporting the cause of Milo in the senate. On the other hand, I have borne a testimony to you, which I do not regard as constituting any claim on your gratitude, but as a frank expression of genuine opinion: for I did not confine myself to a silent admiration of your eminent virtues—who does not admire them? But in all forms of speech, whether in the senate or at the bar; in all kinds of writing, Greek or Latin; in fine, in all the various branches of my literary activity, I proclaimed your superiority not only to contemporaries, but also to those of whom we have heard in history.

You will ask, perhaps, why I place such value on this or that modicum of congratulation or compliment from the senate. I will be frank with you, as our common tastes and mutual good services, our close friendship, nay, the intimacy of our fathers demand. If there ever was anyone by natural inclination, and still more, I think, by reason and reflexion, averse from the empty praise and comments of the vulgar, I am certainly the man. Witness my consulship, in which, as in the rest of my life, I confess that I eagerly pursued the objects capable of producing true glory: mere glory for its own sake I never thought a subject for ambition. Accordingly, I not only passed over a province after the votes for its outfit had been taken, but also with it an almost certain hope of a triumph;¹ and finally the priesthood, though, as I think you will agree with me, I could have obtained it without much difficulty, I did not try to get. Yet after my unjust disgrace—always stigmatized by you as a disaster to the Republic, and rather an honour than a disaster to myself—I was anxious that some very signal marks of the approbation of the senate and Roman people should be put on record.

for a *supplicatio* after the execution of the conspirators in December, B.C. 63, was made by L. Aurelius Cotta and passed unanimously.

¹ The province of Gallia Cisalpina, to which Metellus Celer went in his place and won some victories over the Salassi. See vol. i., pp. 21, 62.

Accordingly, in the first place, I did subsequently wish for the augurship,¹ about which I had not troubled myself before ; and the compliment usually paid by the senate in the case of success in war, though passed over by me in old times, I now think an object to be desired. That you should approve and support this wish of mine, in which you may trace a strong desire to heal the wounds inflicted upon me by my disgrace, though I a little while ago declared that I would not ask it, I now do earnestly ask of you : but only on condition that you shall not think my humble services paltry and insignificant, but of such a nature and importance, that many for far less signal successes have obtained the highest honours from the senate. I have, too, I think, noticed this—for you know how attentively I ever listen to you—that in granting or withholding honours you are accustomed to look not so much to the particular achievements as to the character, the principles and conduct of commanders. Well, if you apply this test to my case, you will find that, with a weak army, my strongest support against the threat of a very formidable war has been my equity and purity of conduct. With these as my aids I accomplished what I never could have accomplished by any amount of legions : among the allies I have created the warmest devotion in place of the most extreme alienation ; the most complete loyalty in place of the most dangerous disaffection ; and their spirits fluttered by the prospect of change I have brought back to feelings of affection for the old rule.

But I have said too much of myself, especially to you, in whom singly the grievances of all our allies alike find a listener. You will learn the truth from those who think themselves restored to life by my administration. And while all with nearly one consent will praise me in your hearing as I most desire to be praised, so will your two chief client states—the island of Cyprus and the kingdom of Cappadocia²

¹ A vacancy was made in the college of augurs B.C. 59 by the death of Metellus Celer, which Cicero would have liked to fill (see vol. i., p. 90). But he was not nominated as one of the two candidates, as was necessary. He filled the vacancy caused by the death of P. Crassus B.C. 53.

² Cato, to get him out of Rome, had been sent in B.C. 58 on the motion of Clodius to take over Cyprus ; he therefore (as usual) became its patron. It is not known why he was specially connected with Cappadocia and Deiotarus, but client kings generally selected some

—have something to say to you about me also. So, too, I think, will Deiotarus, who is attached to you with special warmth. Now, if these things are above the common run, and if in all ages it has been rarer to find men capable of conquering their own desires than capable of conquering an enemy's army, it is quite in harmony with your principles, when you find these rarer and more difficult virtues combined with success in war, to regard that success itself as more complete and glorious.

I have only one last resource—philosophy: and to make her plead for me, as though I doubted the efficacy of a mere request: philosophy, the best friend I have ever had in all my life, the greatest gift which has been bestowed by the gods upon mankind. Yes! this common sympathy in tastes and studies—our inseparable devotion and attachment to which from boyhood have caused us to become almost unique examples of men bringing that true and ancient philosophy (which some regard as only the employment of leisure and idleness) down to the forum, the council chamber, and the very camp itself¹—pleads the cause of my glory with you: and I do not think a Cato can, with a good conscience, say her nay. Wherefore I would have you convince yourself that, if my despatch is made the ground of paying me this compliment² with your concurrence, I shall consider that the dearest wish of my heart has been fulfilled owing at once to your influence and to your friendship.

prominent Roman to represent their interests. It has been suggested that Ariobarzanes' indebtedness to Cato's nephew Brutus had something to do with it. But we cannot be sure. Brutus, it may be observed, was also a friend of Deiotarus, and defended him before Cæsar in B.C. 47, when charged with attempting to poison Cæsar.

¹ Cicero applies to himself and Cato what he elsewhere repeated from Greek sources of Socrates—that he “brought down philosophy from the sky to the earth and to common life” (*Acad.* i. § 15; *Tusc.* v. § 10). His appeal to their common love of philosophy should be compared with his chaff of Cato's impracticable Stoicism twelve years before in the *pro Mur.* § 61 *seq.*, which Cato must have well remembered. The contemptuous view of philosophy taken by many serious persons at Rome, and Cicero's early passion for it, are commented upon at greater length in the *de Off.* ii. § 2.

² *Ex literis meis*, i.e., Cicero's public despatch to magistrates and senate. *Ex literis* was the regular phrase on these occasions. See *Cæs. B.* G. ii. 35; iv. 38.

CCXXXVIII (F XV, 10)

TO L. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS (CONSUL)

CILICIA (JANUARY)

SINCE the dearest wish of my heart has come to pass, that of all the Marcelli and even the Marcellini—for the good feeling of your whole family and name towards me has ever been extraordinary—since, I say, it has come to pass that your possession of the consulship enables you to satisfy the views of all your family, that consulship in which it also happens that my public services and the glory and distinction accompanying them have fallen, I ask you a favour which it is very easy for you to grant, since the senate, I believe, is not averse, namely, to see to a senatorial decree being passed in as complimentary terms as possible when my despatch is read.¹ Had the ties between you and me been less than those between me and all the members of your family, I would have made those my spokesmen to you, by whom you know well that I am regarded with special affection. The kindnesses done me by your father are very eminent, nor could anyone have been a warmer friend to my personal safety or my political position. As for your brother, I don't think that there is anyone who does not know how much he values and has ever valued me. In fact, your whole house has always honoured me with the most important services of every kind. Nor, indeed, have you yielded to any of your family in affection for me. Wherefore I ask you, with more than common earnestness, to determine that, as far as you are concerned, I shall receive the highest possible compliment, and to consider that in voting a *supplicatio* and in all other matters you have sufficient motive for defending my reputation.

¹ The public despatch referred to in this and the previous and subsequent letters has not been preserved ; but no doubt its substance was the same as the letter to Cato.

CCXXXIX (F XV, 13)

TO L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS (CONSUL)

CILICIA, JANUARY

IT has been one of the strongest wishes of my heart to be in Rome with you on many accounts, but especially that you might have clearly before your eyes, both during your canvass and your actual administration, how eager I was to fulfil my obligation to you. And, indeed, as far as your canvass was concerned, it always seemed to me to be plain sailing, yet I nevertheless wished to give some actual aid. In your consulship truly I am anxious that you should have still less difficulty, yet I am vexed to think that I, as consul, had a full view of your zealous kindness when you were a young man, whilst you cannot have one of mine now that I am so far advanced in life. But there has been, I think, a kind of fatality ordaining that you should always have the opportunity of advancing my honour, while I never had anything—except the wish—enabling me to repay you. My consulship and my restoration alike you honoured by your support. It has happened that the occasion for my performing active public service has fallen in your consulship. Accordingly, though your brilliant position and high rank, as well as my own great office and high reputation, would seem to demand that I should urge you, and beg you at some length, to see to a decree of the senate being passed on the subject of my services in as complimentary terms as possible, yet I do not venture to put it strongly to you, lest I should appear to have forgotten your habitual kindness to me, or should admit the thought of your having forgotten. Accordingly, I will do as I think you would wish, and confine my petition to a few words, when it is made to a man that all the world knows has done me eminent service. If others had been consuls, you are the man of all others, Paullus, to whom I should have sent asking you to secure for me their warmest support. As it is, the chief power and greatest influence being in your hands, and our close connexion being known to everybody, I do beg you

warmly, that you should see to a decree being passed in regard to my services in as complimentary terms and as speedily as possible. That these services deserve honour and congratulation you will learn from the despatch which I have addressed officially to you, your colleague, and the senate. I would further beg you to undertake the support of my other interests of every kind, and above all of my reputation. And let it be among your first concerns, as I asked you in a previous letter also, to prevent any extension of time in my tenure of office. I am eager to see you while you are still consul, and to gain all I hope for in your consulship, whether here or at home. Farewell.

CCXL (F XV, 14)

TO C. CASSIUS LONGINUS (PROQUÆSTOR IN SYRIA)

CILICIA, JANUARY

M. CICERO, *imperator*, greets C. Cassius,¹ proquæstor. You introduce M. Fadius to me as a friend, but I make no fresh acquisition in him; for it is now many years since he has been among my cherished possessions, and valued by me for his exceeding kindness and attentions. Nevertheless, the discovery of his attachment to you has made him still dearer to me. So, though your letter did some good, yet a still more powerful recommendation was my clear perception and recognition of his own warm feeling for you. However, I will take every pains to do for Fadius what you ask. It is yourself that I could wish for many reasons had been able to visit

¹ C. Cassius Longinus, the future assassin of Cæsar, had gone to Syria as quæstor with M. Licinius Crassus in B.C. 54. On the death of Crassus near Carrhæ (B.C. 53) he had managed to lead off the main body of the Roman army to Antioch, and had remained in charge of the province as *pro quæstore* ever since (defeating a weak attack of the Parthians in B.C. 52), till the arrival of Bibulus in September, B.C. 51. Just before the arrival of Bibulus he had again defeated the attack of the Parthians near Antioch and handed over his province in a state of comparative safety. He is now on the point of returning to Italy.

me: in the first place, that I might see you after so long a separation—a man whom I have long valued so highly; in the second place, that I might offer my personal congratulations, as I have already done by letter; thirdly, that we might consult together on whatever matters we wished, you on yours, I on mine; and lastly, that our friendship, which has been kept up by the interchange of signal services on both sides, but has had its continuity interrupted by periods of separation, might be greatly strengthened. Since this was not to be, we will avail ourselves of what letters can do for us, and shall, though separated, attain almost the same objects as we should have done if we had met face to face. One satisfaction, of course, that which arises from the actual sight of you, cannot be obtained by the help of letters: the other, the pleasure, I mean, of congratulating you, though more meagre than it would have been, if I could have seen your face while offering my congratulations, I have nevertheless already experienced and now give myself again: and I do indeed congratulate you both on the splendour of your services, and also for their opportuneness, in that at the moment of your departure from it you have been followed by the loudest praises and the liveliest gratitude of your province. My third point—that we might have consulted each other about our affairs—that let us do equally by letter. On every other account I am strongly of opinion that you ought to hasten your return to Rome. For things there, as I left them, shewed no signs of a storm as far as you are concerned,¹ and owing to your recent very splendid victory I imagine that your arrival will be attended by great *éclat*. But if the difficulties under which your relations are labouring² are no more than you can combat, hasten home: nothing could be nobler or more popular: but if they are more serious, take care that your return does not fall at a most inopportune moment. You are the sole judge on this point, for you alone know your powers. If you are strong enough to do it, you are sure of praise and popularity: if you are clearly not strong enough, it will be easier for you to support popular remark by staying away. For myself, however, the

¹ He is referring to a danger of prosecution for extortion in Syria.

² His brother or cousin Quintus Cassius was being attacked for malversation as quaestor in Spain (B.C. 54-52). See Letter CCXXVII.

request I make to you in this letter is the same as that in my previous one—that you should exert yourself to the uttermost to prevent any extension of time being made to my provincial government, which both by decree of the senate and by the law was to be of one year's duration. I press this upon you with warmth, because I consider my entire fortunes to depend upon it. You have Paullus to support you—my friend, and a very warm one: you have Curio and Furnius. I beg you to exert yourself, with the assurance that it is everything in the world to me. My last point was the strengthening of our friendship. On that there is no need of more words. You sought my society in your boyhood: I for my part ever thought that you would be a credit to me. You were, moreover, a protection to me in the darkest hour of my fortunes. To these facts I may now add the very close intimacy which has sprung up since you left town between me and your relative Brutus.¹ Therefore, in the talents and high character which distinguish you both, I believe that I have a very great reserve of pleasure and honour in store. I beg you earnestly to ratify this expectation, and also to write to me at once, and as often as possible after your arrival at Rome.

CCXLI (F VIII, 6)

M. CÆLIUS RUFUS TO CICERO (IN CILICIA)

ROME, FEBRUARY

I HAVE no doubt the news has reached you of Appius being impeached by Dolabella. But there is by no means the feeling against him which I had expected. For the truth is, Appius acted with a good deal of sense. No sooner did Dolabella appear at the tribunal, than he entered the city and gave up his demand for a triumph. By thus acting he at once took the edge off popular talk, and shewed himself also to be better prepared than his accuser had expected.

¹ Cassius, who was some twenty years younger than Cicero, had married Tertia, half-sister to Brutus.

His chief hope is now in you. I know you don't dislike him. It is now in your power to attach him to you as strongly as you choose. If you had never had a quarrel with him, you would now have had a freer hand in the whole business: as it is, if you push legality to the proverbial extreme,¹ you must be on your guard against being thought not to have been quite candid and sincere in renouncing your hostility. In this respect you will certainly be on safe ground in doing him a favour, if so minded; for no one will say that you have been debarred from doing a duty by the influence of intimacy and friendship.² It occurs to my mind that, between the application to the prætor and the formal notice of impeachment, Dolabella's wife has divorced him. I remember the commission you gave me as you were leaving:³ I think you have not forgotten what I wrote to you. It is not as yet the time for entering into farther details. I can only give you this hint: if you like the suggestion, do not, nevertheless, at the present moment betray your sentiments, but wait to see how he comes out of this case. Take care that it does not bring discredit on you if it leaks out: assuredly, if any expression of your feeling were to crop up now, it would gain a greater notoriety than is either decent or expedient. Nor will he be able to hold his tongue on a circumstance which chimed in so pat with his hopes, and which will reflect so much additional lustre upon him in conducting the prosecution: especially as he is the sort of man to be scarcely able to refrain, even though he knew it was ruinous to himself to mention the fact. Pompey is said to be very anxious on Appius's behalf, so much so that it is even thought that he means to send one or other of his sons to you.⁴

¹ *Illam.* Referring to the proverb, *summum ius summa iniuria* (Cic. Off. i. § 33).

² The point is this: in old times Cicero was at enmity with Appius (as supporting his brother Clodius). If that had never been the case he might have taken the purely legal view of the matter; but if he does so now, people will say his reconciliation with Appius was all pretence, whereas, if he supports him, nobody can say that he does so from any special feeling of friendship. Cicero is said to have the power of helping Appius because, being governor of the province, in connexion with which Appius's conduct is impugned, he would doubtless facilitate or make difficult the sending of witnesses against him.

³ To think of a suitable husband for Tullia.

⁴ Gnaeus or Sextus Pompeius.

Here we are all for his acquittal, and, by Hercules, every disclosure that could reflect disgrace or dishonour on him has been carefully barred. Our consuls are indeed energetic : they haven't been able to get a single decree through the senate, except the one for the Latin festival ! Our friend Curio's tribuneship is deadly dull—as cold as ice. In short, I can hardly express to you the flatness of everything at Rome. If it had not been for a good fight I am having with the shopkeepers and water companies,¹ a lethargy would have settled upon the state. If the Parthians don't make it warm for you, we here are stiff with cold. However, Bibulus has done his best : without the help of the Parthians he has managed to lose a poor cohort or two in Amanus. So it is reported here.

I said just now that Curio was much in the cold : well, he is now getting warm ! for he is being pulled to pieces with a hot fire of criticism.² For, just because he did not get his way about intercalation,³ he has with the most outrageous levity rattled to the popular party, and begun speaking up for Cæsar, and has made a great parade of a road law,⁴ not much unlike Rullus's agrarian law, and another about the sale of provisions, which enacts that the ædiles should measure goods. He had not done this when I wrote the first part of my letter. Pray, if you render any assistance to Appius, let me have some of the credit. I advise you not to commit yourself in regard to Dolabella : that is the course most

¹ As ædile, in which office he had the superintendence of the water supply, state of the streets, fire preventives, etc. The point was that the shopkeepers had been drawing off public water by private pipes. A speech of Cælius *de Aquis* was once extant on the subject (Frontinus, *de Aquæduct.* §§ 75, 76).

² The metaphor is mixed, but so is Cælius's.

³ The intercalation of a month of twenty-one or twenty-three days (between the 23rd and 24th of February every other year). The decision as to the proper time for doing this was in the hands of the college of pontifices, of which Curio was a member. He apparently tried to induce the pontifices to intercalate this year, which was not the right year. His object was presumed to be to further postpone the decision as to Cæsar's province, which was to come on in the senate on the 1st of March (Dio, 40, 61).

⁴ For a wholesale repair of the great roads, which would require commissioners with a lengthened term of office, of which he would be one.

conducive at once to the proposal to which I am referring, to your own position, and to your reputation for fairness. It will be a disgrace to you if I have no Greek panthers.

CCXLII (F VIII, 7)

M. CÆLIUS RUFUS TO CICERO (IN CILICIA)

ROME (FEBRUARY)

How soon you want to quit your province I don't know; for myself, the greater your success up to now, the more shall I be tormented by the danger of a Parthian war, as long as you remain where you are, for fear some alarm should dissipate the laughter in which I usually indulge. This letter is shorter than usual, but the letter-carrier of the *publicani* was in a hurry, and I was suddenly called upon for it. I had already delivered a longer one to your freedman. Moreover, absolutely nothing new has happened, unless you would like my letter to be filled with such anecdotes as the following (and I am sure you would): The younger Cornificius has betrothed himself to Orestilla's daughter. Paulla Valeria, sister of Triarius, has divorced her husband without cause alleged, on the very day he was to arrive from his province. She is going to marry D. Brutus. She has yet given no notice to the pontifices.¹ Servius Ocella would never have convinced anybody that he was an adulterer, if he had not been twice caught in three days. You will ask where? In the last place, by Hercules, I should have wished! I leave you something to find out from others. And I rather like the idea of an *imperator* questioning one person after another with what woman so-and-so has been caught.

¹ *Nondum rettulerat*. The meaning of these words is uncertain. Some would read *mundum rettulerat*, "she has sent back her dress and ornaments." In case of a divorce by the woman without cause, the husband retained the *dos*, or a large part of it; but there is no authority for the practice of the wife giving up her wardrobe.

CCXLIII (F III, 7)

TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER (AT ROME)

LAODICEA (FEBRUARY)

I WILL write to you at greater length when I have got more leisure. I write this in haste, Brutus's messengers having come to me at Laodicea and told me that they are hurrying off to Rome. Accordingly, I am giving them no letters except for you and Brutus. Commissioners from Appia have handed me in a roll from you full of most ill-founded complaints of my having hindered their building by a rescript. Moreover, in the same letter you ask me to grant them permission to go on building as soon as possible, lest they should be stopped by winter ; and at the same time you complain of my forbidding them to raise a tax till I granted them leave to do so after investigation : for you say that it was tantamount to stopping the work, seeing that I could not hold such investigation till after my return from Cilicia at winter time.¹

Hear my answer to all these charges, and see how much fairness there is in your expostulation. In the first place, on my being approached by persons professing that unbearable exactions were being made upon them, what unfairness was there in my writing to forbid their proceeding till I had investigated the facts and the merits of the case ? In my not being able to do so till winter ? For that is what you say in your letter. As though for purposes of investigation I must go to them, and not they come to me ! "Such a long way off," you say. What ! at the time you delivered that letter to them, in which you remonstrated with me against preventing them from finishing their building before winter, did you

¹ Appia or Apia was in Phrygia in the "diocese" of Synnada. The control thus exercised by the proconsul on local expenditure in building, etc., is well illustrated by Pliny's letters to Trajan (see *ad Trai.* 37, 38, etc.). The "tax" (*tributa*) here alluded to is not the *tributum* to Rome, but a local tax or rate for the public work mentioned.

suppose that they would not come to me? However, on that point, at least, they made a ridiculous blunder: for the letter they brought with them asking to be allowed to carry on the work in the summer, they delivered to me after mid-winter. But let me tell you, first, that the number of those appealing against the tax is far in excess of those who wish it levied; and, second, that I will, nevertheless, do what I may suppose you to wish. So much for the Appiani.

I have been informed by Pausanias, Lentulus's freedman and my marshal, that you had complained to him of my not having gone to meet you. I treated you with contempt, you think, and my conduct was the height of arrogance! Your servant having come to me nearly at midnight and announced that you intended coming to meet me at Iconium before daybreak, and it being uncertain by which of the two roads (for there were two), I sent your most intimate friend Varro to meet you by one, and Q. Lepta, my captain of engineers, by the other. I charged them both to hasten back to me first, in order that I might start to meet you. Lepta came hurrying back and told me that you had already passed my camp. I came in all haste to Iconium. The rest you already know. Was I likely not to try and meet *you*? You—an Appius Claudius—an *imperator*—in spite of immemorial custom—lastly (and this is the strongest point of all) a friend! Considering, too, that in such matters of etiquette I am usually even too precise for my official rank and position. But enough of this. Pausanias also told me that you said, "What! an Appius went to meet a Lentulus, a Lentulus an Ampius, and a Cicero refuse to meet an Appius?" Heavens! do even you—a man, in my opinion, of supreme good sense, of great learning, of the widest knowledge of affairs, and I may add a man of politeness (which the Stoics are quite right in counting among the virtues)—do you, I say, suppose that any *Appiusism* or *Lentulusism* has more influence with me than the distinctions bestowed by virtue? Before I had earned what are held by mankind to be the most splendid honours, I yet was never dazzled by those high-sounding names of yours: it was the men who had bequeathed them to you that I regarded as great. But when I had so obtained and so administered the highest offices of state, as to make me think that there was nothing left for

me to acquire in furtherance of my honour or glory, I hoped that I had become, never indeed the superior, but at least the equal of you nobles. Nor, by Hercules, did I perceive that Pompey, whom I put above anybody who has ever lived, nor P. Lentulus, whom I put above myself, take any other view. If you think otherwise, you will not go wrong if, in order to understand what high birth and nobility are, you would study somewhat more carefully what Athenodorus,¹ son of Sardon, says on this subject. But to return to the point—I would have you believe that I am not only your friend, but your very warm friend. I will assuredly by every act of kindness in my power make it possible for you to judge that to be unmistakably the case. As for yourself, however, if your object is to be thought, in my absence, to be under a less heavy obligation to me, I free you from that anxiety:

“For by my side are those
To honour me, and, chief, right-counselling Zeus.”²

If, however, you are by nature prone to spy out faults, you will not, indeed, succeed in making me less zealous for you; but you *will* succeed in making me rather more indifferent as to how you take my goodwill. I write this to you with some candour, relying on the consciousness of my services and my friendly feeling, which, as it was deliberately adopted, I shall preserve as long as you are willing that I should do so.

CCXLIV (F II, 14)

TO M. CÆLIUS RUFUS (AT ROME)

LAODICEA (FEBRUARY)

I AM very intimate with M. Fadus, a most excellent man and most accomplished scholar, and I am wonderfully

¹ A Stoic philosopher of Tarsus, one of the teachers of Augustus.

² Hom. *Il.* i. 174:

παρ' ἐμοί γε καὶ Διοί,
οἳ κέ με τιμήσουσι, μάλιστα τε μητίετα Ζεὺς.

attached to him, as well for his great talents and consummate learning, as for the singular modesty of his behaviour. Pray take up his business as though it were my own. I know you distinguished advocates: one must commit a murder if one wishes the benefit of your services: but in the case of this man I will accept no excuse. You will throw up every other engagement, if you love me, when Fadius desires your services. I am eagerly looking out and longing for news from Rome, and before all I desire to know how you are: for, owing to the severity of the winter, it is now a long time since any news found its way to us.

CCXLV (F IX, 25)

TO L. PAPINIUS PÆTUS (AT ROME)

LAODICEA (FEBRUARY)

YOUR letter has made me a consummate general: I had really no idea that you were so accomplished a tactician. I see you have been poring over the treatises of Pyrrhus and Cineas. So I am thinking of obeying your maxims: more than that, I mean to have some light vessels on the coast: against your Parthian horse they say that no better equipment can be discovered. But why jest? You don't know what a great general you are talking to! The *Cyropædeia*, which I had well thumbed over, I have thoroughly exemplified throughout my command. But we will have our joke out when we meet, and that I hope before very long. Now listen to the word of command, or rather "attention!" as they used to say in old times. With M. Fadius, as I think you know, I am very intimate, and I am much attached to him, as well from his extreme honesty and singular modesty of behaviour, as from the fact that I am accustomed to find him of the greatest help in the controversies which I have with your fellow tipplers the Epicureans. He came to see me at Laodicea, and I wanted him to stay with me, but he was suddenly agitated by a most distressing

letter containing the announcement that an estate near Herculaneum, of which he is joint owner, had been advertised for sale by his brother Q. Fadius. M. Fadius was exceedingly annoyed at this, and thought that his brother (who is not a wise man) had taken that extreme step at the instigation of his own private enemies. In these circumstances, my dear Pætus, as you love me, take the whole case in hand and free Fadius from his distress. We want you to use your influence, to offer your advice, or even to make it a matter of personal favour. Don't let brothers go to law and engage in a suit discreditable to both. Two of Fadius's enemies are Mato and Pollio. Need I say more? I really cannot, by Hercules, express in writing how much I shall be obliged to you if you put Fadius at his ease. He thinks that this depends on you, and makes me think so also.

CCXLVI (F XIII, 59)

TO C. CURTIUS PEDUCÆANUS (PRÆTOR)

LAODICEA (FEBRUARY)

I AM particularly attached to M. Fadius and see a very great deal of him, and my intimacy with him is of very old standing. In the suit in which he is engaged I don't ask for your decision—you will, as your honour and position demand, stand by your edict and the principles of administration you have established—but only that he may have as ready an approach to you as possible, may obtain his just rights without reluctance on your part, and may find by experience that my friendship, even though I am far away, is of use to him, especially with you. This much I do earnestly and repeatedly ask of you.

CCXLVII (F XIII, 58)

TO C. TITUS RUFUS (PRÆTOR URBANUS)

LAODICEA (FEBRUARY)

L. CUSTIDIUS is my fellow tribesman, fellow townsman, and intimate friend. He has a suit at law, which he is about to bring before you. I limit my recommendation of him to you—as your honour and my modesty demand—to asking for him a ready access to you: that in all just demands he may be successful without any reluctance on your part, and may have reason to know that my friendship, though I am very far away, is of service to him, especially with you.

CCXLVIII (F III, 9)

TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER (AT ROME)

LAODICEA, FEBRUARY

At last! A letter worthy of Appius Claudius, full of kindness, cordiality, and consideration! No doubt the sight of the city restored your old city-bred courtesy. For the letters which you sent me on your journey before leaving Asia—one about my forbidding legates to start for Rome, the other about stopping the building operations at Appia—were very unpleasant reading for me. Accordingly, conscious of my unbroken friendliness to you, I wrote back with some little irritation. However, when I read the letter you gave to my freedman Philotimus, I saw and understood that there were many persons in the province who did not wish us to entertain the feelings towards each other which we actually were entertaining; but that as soon as you approached the city, or rather as soon as you saw your relatives, you ascertained

from them how loyal I had been to you in your absence, how careful and unremitting in fulfilling all my obligations to you. Accordingly, you can imagine how much I value that sentence in your letter, "If anything occurs affecting your position, though that is hardly possible, yet, if it does, I will return your favours in full." That, however, will be an easy task for you: for there is nothing impossible for zeal and kindness, or rather affection. For my part, though I always myself thought that it would be so, and was frequently assured of it in letters, I yet was extremely delighted by the announcement in your letter of your strong, or rather certain, hope of a triumph. And, indeed, it was not because it made it the easier for me to obtain one—for *that* would be a motive truly Epicurean¹—but, by Hercules, because the splendour of your position is dear to me in itself and for itself. Wherefore, as you have more people than others have whom you know to be starting for this province—for they nearly all come to you to ask if you have any commands—you will very greatly oblige me if you will send me a letter, as soon as you have obtained what you confidently expect and I heartily wish. If the process of making up their minds and the dilatory proceedings of the long bench,² as our friend Pompey calls it, deprive you of this or that particular day (for what more can they do?), yet your high claims will hold the field. But if you care for me, if you wish me to care for you, write to me, that I may enjoy the delight as soon as possible. I should wish you also to pay me the promised addition to your former present.³ I am both anxious to complete my knowledge of augural law,

¹ For friendship, according to the Epicureans, was founded on utility, it was cultivated for its advantages—though in practice their friendships were particularly close. How they made their theory square with their practice cannot be discussed here.

² Probably the bench of the tribunes, who might veto the proposal (Willems, *Le Sénat*, ii. 173). Mommsen objects that a special bench of the tribunes is not mentioned till imperial times; but as one of the first honours voted to Iulius, as to Augustus, was that he should sit on the tribunician bench, this implies the existence of such a bench before. See Dio, xlii. 20; lix. 15, ἐπὶ τῶν ἀντὶν βάθρων.

³ Appius's work on the *ius augurale*, referred to before (see p. 20). Apparently it was only a first part that had come out, and more was expected.

and am also, by Hercules, incredibly delighted with attentions and presents from you. As for the wish you express for something of the same sort from me, I certainly must consider the best style of composition to repay you for your gift: for it is assuredly not my way—putting as I do, and as you often observe with surprise, so much energy into the task of writing—to let myself be thought to have been slack about it, especially in a case involving a charge not simply of slackness, but of ingratitude as well. However, I will see about it. The promise you make, I beg you, in the name of your good faith and energetic character, as well as in that of our friendship—no affair of yesterday, but now a thoroughly established fact—to take measures to fulfil, and to exert yourself to secure a *supplicatio* being voted in my honour in as complimentary terms and at as early a date as possible. I certainly sent my despatch later than I could have wished, in regard to which the difficulty of navigation was not the only irritating circumstance: I believe, in fact, that my despatch arrived just when the senate was in vacation.¹ But this I did under your influence and by your advice, and I think I was quite right not to send a despatch the very moment I was greeted as *imperator*, but only when other services had been performed and the summer campaign was concluded. You will then, I hope, see to these matters, as you profess your intention of doing, and will regard myself, my affairs, and my friends as recommended to your care.

¹ Though, according to Willems (ii. 148), there were no regular days for the meeting of the senate (though some on which it could not meet), yet the Kalends and Ides seem to have been the days on which there generally was such a meeting; but April was a month full of holidays, and we have seen that Cicero and others were generally out of town during that month, during which the consuls from custom (though not from law) generally did not summon the senate.

CCXLIX (A V, 21)

TO ATTICUS (IN EPIRUS)

LAODICEA, 13 FEBRUARY

I AM very glad to hear of your safe arrival in Epirus, and that, as you say, you had a pleasant voyage. I am a little annoyed at your not being in Rome at a crisis of great importance to me, but I console myself with the one reflexion, that you are having a pleasant winter there and are enjoying your rest.¹ Gaius Cassius, brother of your friend Quintus Cassius, had sent a despatch—of which you ask me the meaning—written in a more modest strain than the later one in which he says that he had made an end of the Parthian war. It is true that the Parthians had retired from Antioch before the arrival of Bibulus, but it was from no success of our arms. At this present moment they are, as a matter of fact, wintering in Cyrrhestica,² and a most serious war is impending. For the son of the Parthian king Orodes is within the Roman province, and Deiotarus, to whose son the daughter of Ariovastes is betrothed—so he ought to know—has no doubt of the king himself intending to cross the Euphrates in full force at the beginning of summer. Besides, on the day on which Cassius's victorious despatch was read in the senate (dated the 7th of October) one was read from me also, announcing an alarm of war. My friend Axius says that my despatch made a great impression, that his was not credited. That of Bibulus had not yet been received, which I am quite sure will be thoroughly alarmist. The result of this, I fear, will be that, as Pompey is not allowed to be sent anywhere for fear of a revolution, and no attention is paid by the senate

¹ Reading *hoc me tamen consolor uno: spero*, etc., for *non spero*. If the latter is retained, it would mean, "I don't expect you are having a pleasant winter," *i.e.*, and so will come back to Rome, where I want you. *Uno* is Madvig's emendation, which deserves to be right, if it is not.

² That is, within the province of Syria, immediately north of Antioch.

to Cæsar's demands, while this knot remains to be untied, the senate will not think that I ought to quit my province till a successor has arrived, and that in such troublous times legates should not be left in charge of two such important provinces. In view of this I tremble lest my tenure should be prolonged, without even a tribune being able to stop it, and all the more so that you are not in town to interpose, as you might have done in many cases by your advice, your personal influence and activity. But you will say I am piling up anxiety for myself with my own hands. I can't help it: I wish that it may be so. But everything causes me alarm. Though your letter that you wrote at Buthrotum in your sickness had a charming *finale*: "As I see and hope, there will be nothing to delay your departure from your province." I should have preferred that you had confined yourself to "as I see": there was no need to add "and hope."

Again, I have received a letter written just after the triumph of Lentulus, which came with great celerity by the hands of the postmen of the *publicani*. In this you reiterate the same "bitter-sweet," first saying that there will be no delay of my return, and then adding, "If anything goes wrong you will come to me." Your doubts torture me: at the same time you may see which of your letters I have received. For the one which you say yourself that you delivered to the centurion Hermon's servant I have not received. You have often mentioned having given a letter to Lænius's servants. That one Lænius did deliver to me at last, on my arrival at Laodicea, the 11th of February, dated the 21st of September. I will, at once by what I say to him, and by deeds hereafter, give Lænius reason to be satisfied with your recommendation. That letter had much news that was stale, one thing that was new—about the panthers from Cibyra. I am much obliged to you for telling M. Octavius that you didn't think I would do it. But pray henceforth, in any case of doubt, give a direct negative. The fact is that, supported by a spontaneous resolution of my own, and also, by Hercules, from the inspiration of your influence, I have surpassed everybody (and you will find this to be the case) in preserving clean hands, no less than in justice, courtesy, and mildness. Don't imagine that anything has ever surprised

people more than the fact that not a farthing of expense has been caused to the province during my governorship, either for my public establishment or for any individual on my staff, except L. Tullius. He, who in other respects is clean-handed enough, did take something on the road in virtue of the Julian law, not as others do at every hamlet, but once only and for the day's journey.¹ He is the only one who has done so: and he forces me to make an exception when I say that not a farthing of expense has been caused. No one except him has taken anything. This blot I owe to our friend Q. Titinius.²

At the end of the summer campaign I put my brother Quintus in charge of the winter quarters and of Cilicia. I have sent your friend Tiberius's son-in-law Quintus Volusius—not only a safe man, but also wonderfully disinterested—to Cyprus, with orders to stay some few days there, to prevent the few Roman citizens who are in business there from saying that they have no means of legal redress: for it is illegal for Cyprians to be cited in courts out of the island.³ I myself started for Asia from Tarsus on the 5th of January, accompanied by an admiration, which, by heaven, it is difficult to describe, from the cities in Cilicia, and specially from the people of Tarsus. As soon, however, as I had crossed the Taurus I found our dioceses in Asia on the tiptoe of expectation: for in the six months of my administration Asia had not received a single letter of injunction from me, nor had had a single official to entertain. Now before my time that particular period had been each year a source of gain, by the richer states paying large sums of money to be exempted from furnishing the soldiers with winter quarters. The Cyprians used to pay 200 Attic talents, from which island—I am not speaking in hyperbole, but the simple truth—not a single farthing is exacted under my administration. For these benefits, which they regard with speechless astonishment, I allow no honours, except verbal ones, to be decreed to me: statues, temples, marble chariots I forbid; nor am I a

¹ The *lex Julia*, while limiting the rapacity of governors, did allow certain supplies, such as hay, etc. (see p. 25), to be demanded from towns in the provinces.

² Apparently for recommending Tullius.

³ See vol. i., p. 57.

nuisance to the states in any other respect—though I may be to you by thus blowing my own trumpet. But, an you love me, put up with it! It was you who wished me to act thus. My progress through Asia was of such a nature that even the famine, which prevailed in my part of Asia at the time—the most distressing thing there is—has been in a manner a welcome event. Wherever I went, without using force, legal compulsion, or strong language, I induced both the Greeks and Roman citizens, who had cornered the wheat, to promise large quantities to the communities. On the 13th of February—the day I am despatching this letter—I have arranged to hold a court at Laodicea for the district of Cibra and Apamea: from the 15th of March at the same place for the districts of Synnada, Pamphylia (when I will look out for a horn for Phemius), Lycaonia, Isauria. After the 15th of May I start for Cilicia, with the view of spending June there—I hope without trouble from the Parthians. July, if all goes as I wish, will be needed for my return journey through the province. I entered the province at Laodicea in the consulship of Sulpicius and Marcellus on the 31st of July. I am due to leave it on the 30th of July. I shall first of all press my brother Quintus to allow himself to be left in charge, which will be very much against the wishes of us both. But that is the only respectable arrangement possible, especially as I cannot even now keep the excellent Pomptinus: for Postumius hurries him back to Rome, and perhaps Postumia¹ also.

Now you know my plans. Next, let me enlighten you about Brutus. Your friend Brutus has among his intimates certain creditors of the people of Salamis in Cyprus, M. Scaptius and P. Matinius, whom he has recommended to me with more than common earnestness. I have not made the acquaintance of Matinius: Scaptius came to the camp to see me. I promised for the sake of Brutus to see that the Salaminians paid him the money. He thanked me, and asked for a

¹ Wife of Ser. Sulpicius. We have no knowledge as to why Postumius (see Letter CCCX) was able to hurry the return of Pomptinus. Cicero seems to hint that Postumia was his mistress, yet we hear of her afterwards as living with her husband and son. She is, however, credited by Suetonius with having intrigued with Cæsar (Suet. *Cæs.* 50).

prefecture. I said that I never granted one to a man engaged in business, a rule of which I have already informed you. When Cn. Pompeius asked me he accepted the propriety of this rule—I need not mention Torquatus when he asked for your friend M. Lænius, and many others. But (I said) if he wanted to be a *præfectus* on account of the bond, I would see to his recovering the money. He thanked me and went away. Our friend Appius had granted certain squadrons of cavalry to this Scaptius to coerce the Salaminians, and had also given him rank as *præfectus*. He was harrying the Salaminians. I ordered the cavalry squadrons to quit Cyprus. Scaptius felt aggrieved. In short, to keep faith with him I commanded the Salaminians, when they came to see me at Tarsus and Scaptius with them, to pay the money. They had a great deal to say about the bond, a great deal about the wrongs inflicted upon them by Scaptius. I declined to hear it. I urged them, I even asked them as a favour, in consideration of my good services to their state, to settle the business: finally I said that I would use compulsion. The men not only did not refuse, but even said that they would be paying out of my pocket: for that, since I had declined the money they had been accustomed to pay the prætor, they would in a sense be paying out of my pocket, and indeed the debt to Scaptius amounted to considerably less than the prætorian contribution. I warmly commended them: “All right,” said Scaptius, “but let us reckon the total.” Then there arose this question: One of the clauses in my customary edict was a declaration that I would not recognize more than twelve per cent. interest, besides the yearly addition to the capital of interest accrued,¹ whereas he demanded in virtue of the deed forty-eight per cent. “What do you mean?” said I. “Can I go against my own edict?” He then produced a decree of the senate made in the consulship of Lentulus and Philippus. “The governor of Cilicia shall recognize that bond in giving judgment.”² I was at

¹ *Cum anatocismo anniversario*. The interest being due at the end of each month, if it was not paid, the creditor might at the end of the year add it to the capital, and thenceforth charge interest on the increased capital. It was compound interest, but reckoned, not every month, but every year.

² B.C. 56. This was probably when the senate was confirming the

first horrified, for it meant the ruin of the town. I find there are two decrees of the senate in the same year about this bond. When the Salaminians wished to raise money at Rome to pay off a debt, they were prevented from doing so by the Gabinian law.¹ Then it was that Brutus's friends, relying on his influence, offered to advance the money if they were secured by a senatorial decree. A decree is passed by Brutus's influence "That the Salaminians and those who lent the money should be indemnified." They paid the money. Afterwards it occurred to the lenders that this senatorial decree would not secure them, because the Gabinian law forbade a legal decision being based on the bond. So the other senatorial decree ("that this bond be recognized in giving judgment") is passed: not giving that particular bond more legal validity than others, but the same.² When I had expounded this view, Scaptius took me aside and said that he had nothing to say against it, but that those men were under the impression that their debt was 200 talents, and he was willing to accept that sum, whereas it really amounted to somewhat less; he begs me to induce them to agree on the 200. "Very well," said I. I summon them without the presence of Scaptius. "What do you say," said I, "how much is your debt?" They answered, "One hundred and six." I refer back to Scaptius. He exclaimed loudly. "What is the use of this?" said I. "Check each other's additions." They sit down, they make their calculations: they agree to a penny. They declare themselves willing to pay: and beg him to accept the money. Scaptius again takes me aside: asks me to leave the matter as it is, undecided. I gave in to the fellow's shameless request. When the Greeks grumbled, and demanded that they might deposit

acta of Cato, who had been sent out in 58 B.C. to take over and organize Cyprus. The real creditor—at any rate in part—was doubtless Brutus, who had been left in charge of Cyprus for some time by his uncle Cato (Plut. *Cat. min.* 36).

¹ The *lex Gabinia*, B.C. 68, forbade loans to provincial towns.

² The first decree merely relieved borrowers and lenders from penalties of the law, the second allowed a debt to be recoverable under the bond, *i.e.*, it placed the bond in the same position as other bonds; but, says Cicero, by my edict (taken from my predecessors) only twelve per cent. can be recovered on a bond: and nothing the senate has done gives any special force to this particular bond.

the money in a temple,¹ I did not assent. Everybody in court exclaimed that Scaptius was the greatest knave in the world for not being content with twelve per cent. plus the compound interest: others said that he was the greatest fool. In my opinion he was more knave than fool. For either he was content with twelve per cent. on a good security, or he hoped for forty-eight per cent. with a bad one.² That is my case; and if Brutus is not satisfied with it, I cannot see why I should regard him as a friend: I am sure that his uncle at any rate will accept it, especially as a senatorial decree has just been passed—I think since you left town—in the matter of money-lenders, that twelve per cent. simple interest was to be the rate. What a wide difference this implies you will certainly be able to reckon, if I know your fingers. And in this regard, by the way, L. Lucceius, son of Marcus, writes me a grumbling letter asserting that—thanks to the senate—there is the utmost danger of these decrees leading to a general repudiation. He recalls what mischief C. Iulius³ once did by slightly enlarging the time for payment: “public credit never received such a blow.”—But to return to the matter in hand: turn over my case in your mind as against Brutus, if it may be called a case, against which nothing can be decently urged: especially as I have left it and its merits undecided.

Now for family matters. As to our “home secret,” I am of your opinion—Postumia’s son:⁴ since Pontidia is playing fast and loose. But I could have wished you had been there. Don’t expect anything from my brother Quintus for some months; for Taurus is impassable before June, owing to the snow. I am backing up Thermus, as you ask me to do, by a great number of letters. As for P. Valerius, Deiotarus says that he has nothing, and is being supported by himself.

¹ For money so deposited, pending a legal decision, interest was not payable. See p. 94.

² In the one case he was *impudens* for refusing the proper sum of money offered in payment, in the other he was *impudens* for embarking in such a usurious transaction.

³ There is no record of Cæsar having done this, either as prætor or in his first consulship, and Boot is probably right in referring it to a C. Iulius who was killed in the time of Marius.

⁴ Servius Sulpicius as husband for Tullia. We don’t know who Pontidia was, or whom she recommended: perhaps Dolabella.

As soon as you know whether there is to be an intercalation at Rome or not, please write me word definitely on what day the mysteries are to take place.¹ I am a little less eager for your letters than if you were at Rome; but yet, after all, I am eager for them.

CCL (F XIII, 63)

TO P. SILIUS NERVA (PROPRÆTOR OF BITHYNIA
AND PONTUS)

LAODICEA, FEBRUARY

I NEVER thought that I could possibly be at a loss for words, but I certainly am so in writing a letter of commendation for M. Lænius. I will, therefore, state the case to you in a few words, yet enough to shew you my feelings. Both I and my dearest brother have a value for M. Lænius which passes belief. This arises, indeed, from his very numerous services to us, but also from his extreme honesty and the eminent correctness of his conduct. It is with the greatest reluctance that I am parting with him, as well on account of our close intimacy and the charm of his society, as because I am glad to have the advantage of his candid and sound advice. But I am afraid that you will be thinking that the words, for which I said that I was at a loss, are already more than enough. I commend him to you with all the warmth you perceive that I am bound to feel for one of whom I use such language as the above: and I ask you earnestly and repeatedly to facilitate his business in your province, and

¹ The mysteries of the Bona Dea were held on the 1st of May (Ovid, *F.* v. 147); if there was an intercalary month, the 1st of May would be twenty-three days later. Why did Cicero care to know this? Perhaps that he might not risk doing anything important—especially of a military nature—on a day that was *nefastus*. Thus Scipio delayed crossing the Hellespont for many days in the war with Antiochus, because it was the time of the festival of Mars, when the sacred shields were carried in procession (Polyb. xxi. 13; Livy, xxxvii. 33). Now that Cicero was an augur, he might feel doubly bound to respect such scruples.

to give him personally any information you think you fairly can. You will find him most reasonable and gentlemanlike. Therefore I beg you to send him back to me as soon as possible, disembarrassed and free, with his business accomplished as far as it lies in your hands. You will very greatly oblige me and my brother by so doing.

CCLI (A VI, I)

TO ATTICUS (IN EPIRUS)

LAODICEA, 22 FEBRUARY

I RECEIVED your letter on the fifth day before the Terminalia (19th of February) at Laodicea. I was delighted to read it, for it teemed with affection, kindness, and an active and obliging temper. I will, therefore, answer it sentence by sentence¹—for such is your request—and I will not introduce an arrangement of my own, but will follow your order.

You say that the last letter you had of mine was from Cybistra, dated 21st September, and you want to know which of yours I have received. Nearly all you mention, except the one that you say that you delivered to Lentulus's messengers at Equotuticus and Brundisium. Wherefore your industry has not been thrown away, as you fear, but has been exceedingly well laid out, if, that is to say, your object was to give me pleasure. For I have never been more delighted with anything. I am exceedingly glad that you approve of my self-restraint in the case of Appius, and of my independence even in the case of Brutus: and I *had* thought that it might be somewhat otherwise. For Appius, in the course of his journey, had sent me two or three rather querulous letters, because I rescinded some of his decisions. It is exactly as if a doctor, upon a patient having been placed under another doctor, should choose to be angry with the

¹ Some words are missing in the text. Boot fills up the gap by *κατὰ μίτρον*. It gives the sense required, and is perhaps better than the words introduced by Wesenberg from the latter part of the letter (*non χρούσα χαλκείων*), which come in rather awkwardly here.

latter if he changed some of his prescriptions. Thus Appius, having treated the province on the system of depletion, bleeding, and removing everything he could, and having handed it over to me in the last state of exhaustion, he cannot bear seeing it treated by me on the nutritive system. Yet he is sometimes angry with me, at other times thanks me; for nothing I ever do is accompanied with any reflexion upon him. It is only the dissimilarity of my system that annoys him. For what could be a more striking difference—under his rule a province drained by charges for maintenance and by losses, under mine, not a penny exacted either from private persons or public bodies? Why speak of his *praefecti*, staff, and legates? Or even of acts of plunder, licentiousness, and insult? While as things actually are, no private house, by Hercules, is governed with so much system, or on such strict principles, nor is so well disciplined, as is my whole province. Some of Appius's friends put a ridiculous construction on this, holding that I wish for a good reputation to set off his bad one, and act rightly, not for the sake of my own credit, but in order to cast a reflexion upon him. But if Appius, as Brutus's letter forwarded by you indicated, expresses gratitude to me, I am satisfied. Nevertheless, this very day on which I write this, before dawn, I am thinking of rescinding many of his inequitable appointments and decisions.

I now come to Brutus, whose friendship I embraced with all possible earnestness on your advice. I had even begun to feel genuine affection for him—but here I pull myself up short, lest I should offend you: for don't imagine that there is anything I wish more than to fulfil his commissions, or that there is anything about which I have taken more trouble. Now he gave me a volume of commissions, and you had already spoken with me about the same matters. I have pushed them on with the greatest energy. To begin with, I put such pressure on Ariobarzanes, that he paid him the talents which he promised me. As long as the king was with me, the business was in excellent train: later on he began to be pressed by countless agents of Pompey. Now Pompey has by himself more influence than all the rest put together for many reasons, and especially because there is an idea that he is coming to undertake the Parthian war. However, even he has to put up with the following

scale of payment: on every thirtieth day thirty-three Attic talents (£7,920), and that raised by special taxes: nor is it sufficient for the monthly interest. But our friend Gnæus is an easy creditor: he stands out of his capital, is content with the interest, and even that not in full. The king neither pays anyone else, nor is capable of doing so: for he has no treasury, no regular income. He levies taxes after the method of Appius. They scarcely produce enough to satisfy Pompey's interest. The king has two or three very rich friends, but they stick to their own as energetically as you or I. For my part, nevertheless, I do not cease sending letters asking, urging, chiding the king. Deiotarus also has informed me that he has sent emissaries to him on Brutus's business: that they have brought him back word that he has not got the money. And, by Hercules, I believe it is the case; nothing can be stripped cleaner than his kingdom, or be more needy than the king. Accordingly, I am thinking either of renouncing my guardianship, or, as Scævola did on behalf of Glabrio, of stopping payment altogether—principal and interest alike. However, I have conferred the prefectures which I promised Brutus through you on M. Scaptius and L. Gavius, who were acting as Brutus's agents in the kingdom: for they were not carrying on business in my own province. You will remember that I made that condition, that he might have as many prefectures as he pleased, so long as it was not for a man in business. Accordingly, I have given him two others besides: but the men for whom he asked them had left the province. Now for the case of the Salaminians, which I see came upon you also as a novelty, as it did upon me. For Brutus never told me that the money was his own. Nay, I have his own document containing the words, "The Salaminians owe my friends M. Scaptius and P. Matinius a sum of money." He recommends them to me: he even adds, as though by way of a spur to me, that he had gone surety for them to a large amount. I had succeeded in arranging that they should pay with interest for six years at the rate of twelve per cent., and added yearly to the capital sum.¹ But Scaptius demanded forty-eight per cent. I was afraid, if he got that,

¹ That is, compound interest for six years at twelve per cent. See p. 129.

you yourself would cease to have any affection for me. For I should have receded from my own edict, and should have utterly ruined a state which was under the protection not only of Cato, but also of Brutus himself, and had been the recipient of favours from myself. When lo and behold! at this very juncture Scaptius comes down upon me with a letter from Brutus, stating that his own property is being imperilled—a fact that Brutus had never told either me or you. He also begged that I would confer a prefecture on Scaptius. That was the very reservation that I had made to you—"not to a man in business": and if to anyone, to such a man as that—no! For he has been a *præfectus* to Appius, and had, in fact, had some squadrons of cavalry, with which he had kept the senate under so close a siege in their own council chamber at Salamis, that five senators died of starvation. Accordingly, the first day of my entering my province, Cyprian legates having already visited me at Ephesus, I sent orders for the cavalry to quit the island at once. For these reasons I believe Scaptius has written some unfavourable remarks about me to Brutus. However, my feeling is this: if Brutus holds that I ought to have decided in favour of forty-eight per cent., though throughout my province I have only recognized twelve per cent., and had laid down that rule in my edict with the assent even of the most grasping money-lenders; if he complains of my refusal of a prefecture to a man in business, which I refused to our friend Torquatus in the case of your *protégé* Lænius, and to Pompey himself in the case of Sext. Statius, without offending either of them; if, finally, he is annoyed at my recall of the cavalry, I shall indeed feel some distress at his being angry with me, but much greater distress at finding him not to be the man that I had thought him. Thus much Scaptius will own—that he had the opportunity in my court of taking away with him the whole sum allowed by my edict. I will add a fact which I fear you may not approve. The interest ought to have ceased to run (I mean the interest allowed by my edict), but I induced the Salaminians to say nothing about that.¹ They gave in to me, it is

¹ The interest would cease to run if the money were deposited in a temple. See p. 94.

true, but what will become of them if Paullus comes here? ¹ However, I have granted all this in favour of Brutus, who writes very kind letters to you about me, but to me myself, even when he has a favour to ask, writes usually in a tone of hauteur, arrogance, and offensive superiority. You, however, I hope will write to him on this business, in order that I may know how he takes what I have done. For you will tell me. I have, it is true, written you a full and careful account in a former letter, but I wished you clearly to understand that I had not forgotten what you had said to me in one of your letters: that if I brought home from this province nothing else except his goodwill, I should have done enough. By all means, since you will have it so: but I assume my dealings with him to be without breach of duty on my part. Well, then, by my decree the payment of the money to Statius is good at law: whether that is just you must judge for yourself—I will not appeal even to Cato. But don't think that I have cast your exhortations to the winds: they have sunk deeply into my mind. With tears in your eyes you urged me to be careful of my reputation. Have I ever got a letter from you without the same subject being mentioned? So, then, let who will be angry, I will endure it: "for the right is on my side," ² especially as I have given six books as bail, so to speak, for my good conduct. I am very glad you like them, though in one point—about Cn. Flavius, son of Annius—you question my history. He, it is true, did not live before the decemvirs, for he was curule ædile, an office created many years after the decemvirs. What good did he do, then, by publishing the *Fasti*? It is supposed that the tablet containing them had been kept concealed up to a certain date, in order that information as to days for doing business might have to be sought from a small coterie. And indeed several of our authorities relate that a scribe named Cn. Flavius published the *Fasti* and composed forms of pleading—so don't imagine that I,

¹ L. Æmilius Paullus, consul this year. His brother M. Æmilius Lepidus (the future triumvir) was married to Iunia, half-sister of Brutus. Cicero assumes that family interest will influence his decision on the debt to Brutus.

² τὸ γὰρ εἶ μετ' ἐμοῦ (Arist. *Acharn.* 659). The "six books" are those on the Republic.

or rather Africanus (for he is the spokesman), invented the fact. So you noticed the remark about the "action of an actor," did you? You suspect a malicious meaning:¹ I wrote in all simplicity.

You say that Philotimus told you about my having been saluted *imperator*. But I feel sure that, as you are now in Epirus, you have received my two letters on the whole subject, one from Pindenissus after its capture, another from Laodicea, both delivered to your own messengers. On these events, for fear of accidents at sea, I sent a public despatch to Rome in duplicate by two different letter-carriers.

As to my Tullia, I agree with you, and I have written to her and to Terentia giving my consent. For you have already said in a previous letter to me, "and I could wish that you had returned to your old set." There was no occasion to alter the letter you sent by Memnius: for I much prefer to accept this man from Pontidia, than the other from Servilia.² Wherefore take our friend Saufeius into council. He was always fond of me, and now I suppose all the more so as he is bound to have accepted Appius's affection for me with the rest of the property he has inherited. Appius often shewed how much he valued me, and especially in the trial of Bursa. Indeed you will have relieved me of a serious anxiety.

I don't like Furnius's proviso. For, in fact, there is no state of things that alarms me except just that of which he makes the only exception.³ But I should have written at great length to you on this subject if you had been at Rome. I don't wonder that you rest all your hope of peace on Pompey: I believe that is the truth, and in my opinion you must strike out your word "insincerity." If my arrangement of topics is somewhat random, blame yourself: for I am following your own haphazard order.

My son and nephew are very fond of each other. They take their lessons and their exercise together; but as Isocrates

¹ As though a hit at the mannerism of Hortensius.

² Cicero did not like Servilia (mother of Brutus), who apparently wished Ser. Sulpicius Rufus to marry Tullia. See p. 8.

³ Furnius, a tribune, seems to have proposed in the senate or in the *comitia* that the governors of Syria and Cilicia might quit their provinces at the end of their year, provided that the Parthians were not making any movement.

said of Ephorus and Theopompus, the one wants the rein, the other the spur. I intend giving Quintus the *toga virilis* on the Liberalia.¹ For his father commissioned me to do so. And I shall observe the day without taking intercalation into account. I am very fond of Dionysius: the boys, however, say that he gets into mad passions. But after all there could not be a man of greater learning, purer character, or more attached to you and me. The praises you hear of Thermus and Silius are thoroughly deserved:² they conduct themselves in the most honourable manner. You may say the same of M. Nonius, Bibulus, and myself, if you like. I only wish Scrofa had had an opportunity to do the same: for he is an excellent fellow. The rest don't do much honour to Cato's policy. Many thanks for commending my case to Hortensius. As for Amianus, Dionysius thinks there is no hope. I haven't found a trace of Terentius. Mœragenes has certainly been killed. I made a progress through his district, in which there was not a single living thing left. I didn't know about this, when I spoke to your man Democritus.³ I have ordered the service of Rhosian ware.⁴ But, hallo! what are you thinking of? You generally serve us up a dinner of herbs on fern-pattern plates, and the most sparkling of baskets: what am I to expect you to give on porcelain?⁵ I have ordered a horn for Phemius: one will be sure to turn up; I only hope he may play something worthy of it.

There is a threat of a Parthian war. Cassius's despatch was empty brag: that of Bibulus had not arrived: when that is read I think the senate will at length be roused. I am myself in serious anxiety. If, as I hope, my government is not prolonged, I have only June and July to fear. May it be so! Bibulus will keep them in check for two months.

¹ The festival of Liber (Bacchus), 17 March. It was generally selected for the bestowal of the *liberior toga*, from the good omen conveyed by its name.

² Thermus was governing Asia, Silius Bithynia and Pontus. Cn. Tremellius Scrofa, a friend of Cicero and Atticus (*in Verrem*, i. § 30), had apparently failed to obtain office and consequently a province.

³ He seems to refer to various debtors of Atticus. Mœragenes was a robber chief in the district of the Taurus. See Letter CCVII.

⁴ Porcelain from Rhosus on the gulf of Issus.

⁵ Atticus was economical, and Cicero laughs at him for his "simple dinner" and affectation of poverty before. See vol. i., p. 234.

office. I would have you both demand and expect everything of me: I shall surpass your expectations by my services. Q. Servilius delivered me a very short letter from you, which yet seemed to me unnecessarily long: for I think myself wronged in being *asked*. I could have wished that no such occasion had arisen for you to see how highly I, how highly Pompey (who, as is only right, is ever the first of men to me), how highly Brutus values you: though you might have perceived it in our daily intercourse, as you will now. But since the occasion has arisen, if I omit anything in my power, I shall confess to a crime and a disgrace. Pomptinus, who has been treated by you with eminent and exemplary good faith, and of whose obligations to you I am a witness, has shewn that he remembers you with all the affection which you can justly claim. He left me, much against my will, under the pressure of urgent private affairs, yet, when he saw that it was of importance to you, though on the point of embarking at Ephesus, he returned to Laodicea. When I see that you are likely to command innumerable instances of similar zeal in your service, I can have no manner of doubt that your present anxiety will eventually strengthen your position. If, indeed, you succeed in getting censors elected, and if you conduct your censorship as you both ought and can, I am convinced that you will be for all time a tower of strength not only to yourself, but to all your family. Pray fight and strive that there be no prolongation of my office, so that, when I have done all you want for you here, I may have the opportunity there also of giving practical expression to my goodwill to you. What you tell me of the support offered you by all men and all ranks does not at all surprise me, and is exceedingly grateful to my feelings: the same account has reached me from my various friends. Accordingly, it gives me great satisfaction, not only that a proper tribute is paid to you—whose friendship to me is a source of pleasure as well as honour—but also, in truth, that there is still left in our country an almost unanimous feeling of affection for gallant and energetic men: which in my eyes has ever been the one reward for my own days of labour and nights of toil. It has, I confess, caused me great surprise that this young man—whom I have twice defended to

the utmost of my power on capital charges—should be so headstrong as, when entering on a course of hostility to you, to forget the patron of his fortunes and whole career; especially considering that you had enough and to spare of every kind, whether of honour or material support, while he himself, to put it at the lowest, has large deficiencies in these respects. Some silly and childish talk of his had been already reported to me by our friend M. Cælius; about which talk also I have had many communications from you. For myself, I should have been much more inclined to break off an old connexion with a man who had entered on a course of hostility to you, than to make a new one. For you ought not to doubt the warmth of my feelings towards you: it is notorious to everyone in the province, and was not less so in Rome. Nevertheless, a certain suspicion is hinted at in your letter, and a doubt on your part, in regard to which the present is not a suitable time to remonstrate with you, yet the occasion requires that I should clear myself. For when, pray, did I hinder any embassy being sent to Rome to convey an encomium upon you? Or, supposing me to be your declared enemy, how could I have done anything less likely to injure you, or how, if your secret enemy, have more openly betrayed my hostility? But if I had been as perfidious as those who attribute these motives to us, yet I at least should not have been such a fool as to betray either an enmity which I wished to conceal, or a burning desire to wound where it was impossible to damage you. I remember certain persons coming to me from Phrygia Epictetos, to inform me that some excessive sums were being voted for the expenses of some legates. To them I expressed an opinion, rather than gave an order, that votes for such expenses should conform as closely as possible to the *lex Cornelia*. And that I did not insist even on that is testified by the accounts of the boroughs, in which each entered as paid to your legates what they severally chose. But what a pack of lies has been foisted on you by a set of the most untrustworthy of men! Not only that the votes were cancelled, but that, when the legates had actually started, the money was demanded and forcibly recovered from their agents, and that many were thus prevented from going at all! I should have expressed

some discontent and expostulated with you, had it not been, as I before observed, that I preferred at the present juncture to clear myself rather than accuse you, and thought this the more proper course. So not a word about you and your having believed it: but about myself I will say a few words as to why you ought not to have believed it. For if you hold me to be a good man, if you hold me to be worthy of the studies and philosophy to which I have devoted myself from boyhood, if you hold it proven in circumstances of the greatest gravity that my courage is fairly high and my wisdom none of the worst, you ought to know that there is nothing in my conduct as a friend—I don't say treacherous, designing, or deceitful—but even mean or cold. But if you choose to imagine me to be dark and mysterious, what could be less consonant with such a character than to disdain the friendship of a man in the highest possible position, or to attack his reputation in a province, after defending his credit at home? Or to display one's hostility where it was impossible to damage him, or to select for an occasion of treachery what would give the clearest indication of dislike, but would be the least effectual in inflicting a blow upon him? What reason, moreover, was there for my being so implacable to you, when my own brother had informed me that you had not been really hostile to me, even at a time when the assumption of such a part had almost been forced upon you?¹ When, however, we had by mutual desire renewed our friendship, can you mention any request which you made to me during your consulship² in vain, whether it was something you wished me to do, or a vote you wished me to support in the senate? What charge did you give me as I was seeing you off at Puteoli, in which I have not more than fulfilled your expectation by my energetic exertions? Again, if it is above everything the mark of selfish cunning to judge everything by the standard of one's own advantage, what could better suit my interests than the close alliance with a man of the highest rank and greatest official dignity, whose wealth, ability, sons, marriage connexions, blood-relations, could all greatly promote my

¹ In taking part with his brother Clodius B.C. 58-56.

² B.C. 54.

honour, or, I may say, my security? All these advantages, after all, I did aim at in seeking your friendship—which I did not seek from any selfish cunning, but rather because I had *some* sound sense. Again, how powerful are those bonds in which I am the most willing of prisoners!—sympathy of tastes, charm of social intercourse, the refined pleasures of our life and its environment, our interchange of ideas in conversation, our deeper studies. And these all belong to private life. What about public ties between us? Our famous reconciliation, in which any inadvertence even is impossible without a suspicion of perfidy; our collegueship in the most illustrious priesthood—in which, in the opinion of our ancestors, not only was no breach of friendship possible without impiety, but no election even into the college was permissible, if a man were on bad terms with any of the existing members. But to pass over these ties, numerous and important as they are, was there ever anyone who valued another, or could or ought to value another, as highly as I do Cn. Pompeius, your daughter's father-in-law? For if services are to count—I consider that I owe him the restoration of country, children, life, rank, and, in a word, of myself. If the charm of social intercourse—what friendship between two consulars in our city was ever closer than ours? If those tokens of affection and kindness—what confidence has he ever withheld from me? What has he failed to discuss with me? What motion affecting himself in the senate has he wished should, in his absence, be moved by anyone else? What marks of honour has he not desired me to receive in the most complimentary form? Finally, with what courtesy, with what forbearance, did he endure my vehement pleading for Milo, though at times opposed to his own proposals! With what hearty zeal did he take measures to prevent my being reached by the hostile feelings aroused at that juncture, protecting me by his advice, his influence, and finally by his arms!¹ At that crisis, indeed, such was his steadfastness, such his magnanimity, that, to say nothing of crediting some Phrygian or Lycaonian, as you did in the case of the legates, he would not

¹ This is all very well: Cicero now speaks of the guard round the court during Milo's trial as meant for his protection; but at the time he was so alarmed, that he broke down utterly in his speech.

believe malevolent remarks about me even from men of the highest rank. Therefore, as his son is your son-in-law, and as I am well aware, besides this connexion by marriage, how dear you are to Cn. Pompeius, and how precious in his sight, what ought my feelings towards you to be? Especially as he has written me such a letter that, had I been your enemy, as I am your most affectionate friend, I should have been softened towards you, and have surrendered myself to the wishes and authority of a man to whom I owed so much.

But enough of this: it has been expressed already, perhaps, at greater length than was necessary. Let me now tell you what I have actually done and arranged.¹ . . . And these things I am doing, and shall continue to do, rather in support of your dignity, than as a means of averting danger from you. For I shall soon, I hope, hear of your being censor;² and the duties of that office, which require the greatest resolution and tact, I think you should meditate upon with greater earnestness and care than upon what I am doing here on your behalf.

CCLXI (F II, 19)

TO C. CÆLIUS CALDUS (APPOINTED QUÆSTOR FOR CILICIA)

(CILICIA, JUNE)

M. TULLIUS CICERO, *imperator*, son of Marcus, grandson of Marcus, greets C. Cælius Caldus, son of Lucius, grandson of Gaius, quæstor. When I first received the most welcome intelligence that the lot had assigned you to me as quæstor,

¹ The statement of the measures taken by Cicero is apparently omitted, perhaps by the original editor of the letters, though there does not seem any reasonable motive for doing so.

² As censor he would be practically, though not legally, safe from prosecution.

I hoped that this chance would be a source of greater pleasure the longer you were with me in the province. For it appeared to me of great importance that the connexion between us, thus formed by fortune, should be supplemented by personal intercourse. When subsequently I failed to hear anything from yourself, or to receive a letter from anyone else as to your arrival, I began to fear, what I still fear may be the case, that I should have left the province before you arrived in it. However, when I was in camp in Cilicia, I received a letter from you on the 21st of June, expressed in the most cordial terms, and sufficiently manifesting your kindness and abilities. But it contained no indication of day or place of writing, nor of the time at which I might expect you; nor was the person who delivered it to me the one to whom you had given it: for then I might have ascertained from him where and when it was despatched. In spite of this uncertainty, I yet thought that I must contrive to send some of my orderlies and lictors to you with a letter. If you receive it in anything like time, you will be doing me a very great favour if you will join me in Cilicia as soon as you can. For though, of course, what your cousin Curius, who is, as you know, a very great ally of mine, and also what your relative and my most intimate friend C. Vergilius, have written to me about you with the greatest earnestness has, of course, very great importance in my eyes—as a serious recommendation of such very warm friends is bound to have—yet your own letter, and especially what you say about your own position and our connexion, has, to my mind, the greatest weight of all. No quæstor could have been assigned to me that would have been more welcome. Wherefore whatever marks of distinction I can shew you, shall be shewn, demonstrating to all the world that I fully recognize your own and your ancestors' high position. I shall be better able to do this, if you join me in Cilicia, which I think is very much to my interest and that of the state, and above all to your own.

CCLXII (F II, 12)

TO M. CÆLIUS RUFUS (CURULE ÆDILE)

CILICIA, JUNE

I AM much worried by events in the city. Such stormy meetings are reported to me, such a disturbed Quinquatrian holiday :¹ for what has happened since I have not yet heard. But after all nothing worries me so much as the being debarred in the midst of these troubles from having a laugh with you at the comic points in them. These are, in fact, numerous, but I dare not trust them to paper. What annoys me is that I have not as yet received a line from you on these subjects. Wherefore, though by the time you read this letter I shall have finished my year of office, pray, nevertheless, send a letter to meet and enlighten me on all public affairs, that I may not arrive home an utter stranger. No one can do this better than you. Your friend Diogenes, a steady good man, has left me in company with Philo for Pessinus. They are on their way to visit Adiatrix,² where they are fully prepared to find neither kindness nor a full exchequer.

The City, the City, my dear Rufus—stick to that and live in its full light! Residence elsewhere—as I made up my mind in early life—is mere eclipse and obscurity to those whose energy is capable of shining at Rome. Knowing this thoroughly, would that I had been true to my convictions! Before heaven, I do not compare all the advantages of a province put together with one stroll and one conversation with you. I hope I have gained a reputation for integrity. I had that, however, quite as much from rejecting³ as from administering a province. “But what about the hope of a triumph?” say you. I had already had a sufficiently glorious triumph: I never ought to have been so long separated from

¹ The *quinquatrus Minervæ*, March 19-23, was a general holiday.

² Son of a tetrarch of Galatia.

³ As he did at the end of his consulship.

all that I love best. But I shall, I hope, soon see you. Mind you send some letters to meet me worthy of yourself.

CCLXIII (A VI, 3)

TO ATTICUS (IN EPIRUS)

CILICIA, JUNE

THOUGH I know of nothing new having happened since I gave a letter for you to your freedman Philogenes, yet as I am sending Philotimus back to Rome, I felt obliged to write you something. And first on the subject which causes me most anxiety—not that you can help me at all, for the matter is actually in hand, and you are far away in another part of the world :

“ And in the gulf between
Full many a wide sea’s wave the south wind rolls.”¹

The time is creeping on, as you see—for I am bound to leave the province on the 30th of July—and no successor is named. Whom shall I leave in command of the province? Sound policy and public opinion demand my brother. First, because it is regarded as an honour: next, because no one is fitter: thirdly, because he is the only ex-prætor I have. For Pomptinus, in accordance with an agreement and bargain—for he accompanied me on that condition—has already left me. No one thinks my quæstor fit for the post.² For he is unsteady, loose, and has an itching palm. However, in regard to my brother, the first point is, that I do not think I could persuade him to do it: for he dislikes a province. And, by heaven, nothing can be more disagreeable and tiresome. Then again, suppose him not to like to say no to me, what about my own duty to him? Seeing that a

¹

πολλά δ' ἐν μεταίχμιῳ
νότος κυλινδοει κύματ' εὐρείης ἁλός.

The author is unknown.

² Mescinius Rufus. See p. 178.

serious war is believed to be actually going on in Syria, and is thought likely to spread into this province, while there is here no adequate protection, and the ordinary supplies for the year only have been voted, would it seem consistent with natural affection to leave my brother, or with proper prudence to leave some *fainéant*? You see, therefore, that I am in great anxiety, and much at a loss as to the course to take. In short, I never ought to have undertaken the business at all. What a much better "province" is yours! You will leave it whenever you choose, if indeed you have not already done so, and you can put anyone you choose in charge of Thesprotia and Chaonia!¹ However, I have not yet seen Quintus, so as to be quite sure, if I made up my mind to it, whether he could be induced; nor, if he could, am I certain what my real wishes are. That is how this matter stands. The rest is as yet all praise and thanks—worthy of the books you praise so highly. Communities have been put on a sound footing, the *publicani* have been thoroughly satisfied, no one has been insulted, some few have suffered by a judicial edict, at once just and strict, yet in no case does anyone venture to complain; there has been a campaign deserving of a triumph, but in this matter too I shall do nothing in a spirit of self-seeking, nothing at all indeed without your advice. The last word of the play—the handing over of my province—is the difficulty. But this some god will direct.

About events in the city you, of course, know more than I: your news are more frequent and more authentic. I am myself vexed not to get information by a letter from you. For reports of an unpleasant nature reach me here about Curio and about Paullus²—not that I see anything to fear as long as Pompey can stand or even sit: if he only recover his health!³ But, by heaven! I am vexed for Curio and Paullus, my own familiar friends! Please, therefore, send me, if you are in Rome or when you get there, a sketch-plan of the whole position of public affairs to meet me on my way,

¹ The country round Atticus's house in Epirus.

² As to Curio, see p. 155. Paullus is L. Æmilius Paullus, the consul who had been also bribed by Cæsar.

³ Pompey's serious illness at Naples this year caused great excitement (see p. 182; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 28; Plut. *Pomp.* 57).

by which I may mould my conduct, and consider beforehand in what spirit to approach the city. For it is something that a man on his arrival should not be a foreigner and stranger.

And then—what I had almost forgotten to mention—about your friend Brutus. I have done everything I could for him, as I often mentioned to you in my letters. The Cyprians were ready to pay the money. But Scaptius was not content with twelve per cent. and compound interest reckoned yearly. Ariobarzanes was not more inclined to accommodate Pompey for his own sake, than Brutus for mine. But I cannot pledge myself for him, for he is a very poor sovereign, and I am at so great a distance from him, that my only weapons are letters, and with these I have not ceased to ply him. The upshot is this: Brutus, in proportion to the amount of the debt, has been treated more liberally than Pompey. For Brutus this year there has been secured about a hundred talents; Pompey has had two hundred promised in six months. Again, in the business of Appius I can scarcely express the extent of my concessions to Brutus.¹ Why should I trouble myself, then? His friends are men of straw—Matinius and Scaptius—the latter of whom, because he did not get some squadrons of cavalry from me wherewith to bully Cyprus, as he had done before my governorship, is perhaps angry with me; or because he is not a *praefectus*, an office which I bestowed on no one engaged in business, not even on C. Vennonius, who was my intimate friend, or on M. Lænius, who was yours. To this principle, which I communicated to you at Rome, I have stuck. But of what has a man to complain, who, when he might have taken the money, refused to do so? The other Scaptius (who is in Cappadocia) I think I have fully satisfied. Having received the office of military tribune from me, which I had offered him in consequence of a letter from Brutus, he afterwards wrote me word that he did not wish to avail himself of it. There is a certain Gavius, who, after my offering him a *praefectura* on the request of Brutus, said and did a good deal meant to reflect upon me—one of Publius Clodius's sleuth-hounds! He neither paid me the compliment

¹ See Letter CCLV, p. 153.

of joining my escort when I was quitting Apamea, nor on his subsequently visiting the camp and being about to leave it did he ask me "whether I had any commands," and made no secret of being, I don't know why, no friend to me. If I had regarded such a fellow as one of my *præfecti*, what would you have thought of me? Was I, who, as you know, never would put up with insolence from the most powerful of men, to endure it from this led-captain? Yet it is more than "putting up with" a man to bestow on him a place of profit and honour. So, then, this Gavius, when he saw me at Apamea, as he was starting for Rome, addressed me in a tone I should scarcely have ventured to adopt to Culleolus: "Will you be good enough to tell me," said he, "where I am to look for the allowances of a *præfectus*?" I answered more mildly than those present thought I should have done, that it was not my practice to give allowances to those whom I had not actually employed. He went off in a rage. If Brutus can be affected by the talk of such a wind-bag as this, you may love him all to yourself, you will have no rival in me. But I think he will behave as he ought. However, I wished you to be acquainted with the facts of the case, and I have told Brutus the story with the greatest minuteness. Generally speaking (between ourselves), Brutus has never written me a letter, not even the last one about Appius, in which there was not something haughty and distant. But you often have on your lips (from Lucilius):

"Then Granius¹ too

Thinks highly of himself and loathes proud kings."

However, in that matter he usually stirs my laughter rather than my bile; but he evidently doesn't sufficiently consider what he is writing, and to whom. The young Quintus, I think, and indeed I am sure, read your letter addressed to his father. For he is accustomed, and that by my advice, to open his father's letters, in case there is anything that ought to be known. Now in that letter there was the same remark about your sister as in your letter to me. Imagine the boy's distress! He told me of his sorrow with tears in his eyes. In short, he shewed me clearly how dutiful, sweet-tempered, and kind he was, which makes me the more hope

¹ A *præco*, or marshal, who gave himself airs.

that nothing unbecoming will occur. So I wished you to know it. I will not omit the following either. Young Hortensius, at the time of the gladiatorial exhibition at Apamea, behaved in a scandalous and disgraceful manner. For his father's sake I asked him to dinner the day he arrived, and for his father's sake also went no farther. He remarked that he would wait for me at Athens, that we might leave the country together. "All right," said I: for what could I say? After all, I don't think he meant what he said. I hope not, indeed, lest I should offend his father, of whom, by heaven, I am exceedingly fond. But if he is to be in my suite, I will so manage him as to avoid giving offence where I least wish to do so. That's all: no, there is this—please send me the speech of Quintus Celer against M. Servilius. Send me a letter as soon as possible. If there is no news, let me know there is none at least by a letter-carrier of yours. Love to Pilia and your daughter. Take care of your health.

CCLXIV (F III, II)

TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER (AT ROME)

CILICIA, JUNE

M. CICERO to Appius Pulcher, (as I hope) censor. Being in camp on the river Pyramus,¹ I received two letters from you at the same time, forwarded by Q. Servilius from Tarsus. One of them was dated 5th of April, the other, which seemed to me the more recent, was not dated. I will therefore answer the former first, in which you tell me about your acquittal on the charge of *lèse majesté*. I had, indeed, been long ago informed of this by letters, messages, and in fine by common rumour, for nothing could be more notorious—not because anyone had expected a different result, but because, as a rule, no report about men of illustrious

¹ The modern *Seihun*.

reputation gets out without making a stir—yet your letter increased the satisfaction I felt in the news, not only because it spoke in clear terms and with greater fullness than the talk of the common people, but also because I felt more really like congratulating you when I heard your own story from yourself. Accordingly, I embraced you in imagination, since you were not here, and, kissing the actual letter, I also congratulated myself. For compliments paid by the whole people, the senate, and the jurors to ability, energy, and virtue (perhaps I flatter myself in imagining myself possessed of these) I look upon as paid to myself also. Nor is it the splendid result of your trial so much as the perverted intelligence of your enemies that excites my wonder. “Bribery or *maiestas*,” you will say, “what does it matter which?” Nothing substantially: for the former you have never touched, and the latter you have promoted rather than injured. But the fact is that *maiestas* (in spite of Sulla) is of such a vague nature as to permit of the safe denunciation of anyone: while bribery is a word of such definite meaning that either the accusation or the defence must be discreditable.¹ For how can there be any doubt as to whether bribery has been employed or not? Now, who ever suspected your successive elections? How unlucky that I wasn't there! What roars of laughter I would have caused! But as to the trial for *maiestas*, there were two things that gave me very great pleasure in your letter: one was your saying that you were defended by the Republic itself—for even if good and gallant citizens were as plentiful as possible, it still ought to preserve men like you; while in the actual state of affairs it is more

¹ The first *maiestas* is used in the proper sense of “majesty of the people.” As a crime it is a wide term, covering all kinds of actions, and may therefore be brought against anyone without obvious injustice; whereas *ambitus* is a definite charge, which must either be groundless, in which case it is discreditable to bring it, or well grounded, when it is discreditable to the defendant. It must be one thing or the other; it can't be vague, or partly true and partly false, as *maiestas* may. *Maiestas* is used briefly for *crimen lasa maiestatis populi Romani*, and might include not only acts of treason, but ill-management of any sort, whereby the interests of the people suffered. It took the place (with extended meaning) of the ancient *perduellio*. It seems first to have been used as a legal term in the law of Saturninus (B.C. 102), and it was afterwards more fully developed by Sulla's *lex Cornelia de maiestate* (B.C. 80). (Cic. in *Pis.* § 50.)

bound than ever to do so, when there is such a dearth of such men in every office and every age, that a state so bereaved ought to welcome guardians like you with open arms : the other is your wonderfully high praise of the good faith and good feeling of Pompey and Brutus. I am delighted at their honourable conduct and cordial kindness, both because they are your relations and my very dear friends, and also because one of them is the first of men of every age and country, while the other has long been the first of our younger men, and will soon, I hope, be first of all the citizens. As to having the witnesses who took bribes punished with ignominy by their several states, unless something has already been done by the agency of Flaccus, it shall be done by mine on my return journey through Asia.

Now I come to your second letter. You send me a sketch-plan, so to speak, of the state of things affecting us both, and of the whole condition of politics : in this I am much relieved by the sagacity of your letter. For I perceive that the dangers ahead are at once less formidable than I feared, and the safeguards greater, if, as you say, all the real strength of the state has devoted itself to Pompey as its leader : and I perceived at the same time that your spirit was alert and keen in the defence of the Republic, and I experienced a wonderful pleasure from the energy which made you determine, in spite of very pressing engagements, that the state of the Republic should be known to me by your means. Certainly : keep the books on the augural science for the time when we take a holiday together ; for when I wrote dunning you for the performance of your promise, I thought of you as being outside the walls and enjoying the most complete leisure. As it is, however, instead of your augural books, I shall expect all your speeches complete. Decimus Tullius, to whom you gave a message for me, has not yet been to see me, nor have I at present any of your friends with me ; only my own, who, however, are all yours. I don't understand what you mean by my "somewhat angry letter." I have written to you twice, clearing myself carefully, and only gently finding fault with you for having been too ready to believe things about me. This is a kind of expostulation which seems to me proper for a friend ; but if you don't like it, I won't employ it again.

But if, as you say, the letter was ill expressed, be sure it was not mine. For as Aristarchus denies any verse he doesn't like to be Homer's, so pray do you (excuse the joke) consider nothing that is ill expressed to be mine. Farewell, and in your censorship, if you are now censor, as I hope you are, think often of your ancestor.¹

CCLXV (F XV, 5)

M. PORCIUS CATO TO CICERO (IN CILICIA)

ROME (JUNE)

I GLADLY obey the call of the state and of our friendship, in rejoicing that your virtue, integrity, and energy, already known at home in a most important crisis, when you were a civilian, should be maintained abroad with the same painstaking care now that you have military command. Therefore what I could conscientiously do in setting forth in laudatory terms that the province had been defended by your wisdom; that the kingdom of Ariobarzanes, as well as the king himself, had been preserved; and that the feelings of the allies had been won back to loyalty to our empire—that I have done by speech and vote. That a thanksgiving was decreed I am glad, if you prefer our thanking the gods rather than giving you the credit for a success which has been in no respect left to chance, but has been secured for the Republic by your own eminent prudence and self-control. But if you think a thanksgiving to be a presumption in favour of a triumph, and therefore prefer fortune having the credit rather than yourself, let me remind you that a triumph does not always follow a thanksgiving; and that it is an honour much more brilliant than a triumph for the senate to declare its opinion, that a province has been retained rather by the uprightness and mildness of its governor, than by the strength of an army or the favour of heaven: and that is

¹ The famous App. Claudius Cæcus, censor B.C. 312-308.

what I meant to express by my vote. And I write this to you at greater length than I usually do write, because I wish above all things that you should think of me as taking pains to convince you, both that I have wished for you what I believed to be for your highest honour, and am glad that you have got what you preferred to it. Farewell: continue to love me; and by the way you conduct your home-journey, secure to the allies and the Republic the advantages of your integrity and energy.

CCLXVI (F VIII, 11)

M. CÆLIUS RUFUS TO CICERO (IN CILICIA)

ROME, JUNE

YOUR "thanksgiving" has given us some sharp twinges, though they have not lasted long: for we came to a serious deadlock. The fact is, Curio, who is very fond of you, finding that every device was being employed to deprive him of comitial days, declared that nothing would induce him to allow the thanksgiving to pass the senate, lest he should appear to have thrown away by his own blundering the advantage he had obtained by the infatuation of Paullus, and should be regarded as having sold the cause of the Republic. Accordingly, we have had to adopt a compromise, and the consuls have pledged themselves not to hold the thanksgiving this year. Plainly you have reason to thank both consuls: Paullus certainly the rather of the two. For Marcellus answered him that he did not build much on those thanksgivings;¹ Paullus said that in any case

¹ I do not think that Marcellus said that "he had very little hope that the supplications would pass," as Prof. Tyrrell interprets him: for there was no doubt about them if Curio withdrew his veto—and the remark would have no influence with him. What Marcellus said was that he was "not relying on the supplications in order to stop Curio from doing business with the *comitia*," while Paullus promised outright that he would not so use them this year at all. The senate voted a *supplicatio*, but it depended on the executive magistrate, the consul,

he would not hold them this year. I was told that Hirrus meant to talk out the decree. I got hold of him: he not only did not do so, but when the vote for the victims was brought forward,¹ and he could have put a spoke in our wheel, if he had called for a count, he held his tongue. He merely signified his agreement with Cato, who, while speaking of you in complimentary terms, voted against the thanksgiving. Favonius made a third with them. Wherefore you must thank everybody according to his peculiar idiosyncrasy and principles: these three, because they only shewed their wishes instead of making speeches, and because when they might have hindered they shewed no fight; and Curio, because he deviated from his own line of obstructive policy for your sake. For Furnius and Lentulus, as in duty bound, just as though they were personally affected, went round with me and took trouble in the matter. I can also speak in high terms of the exertions and earnestness of Cornelius Balbus. For he both spoke in strong terms to Curio, saying that, if he acted otherwise, he would be inflicting an injury on Cæsar, and also managed to create a feeling of mistrust as to Curio's sincerity. Some voted for the decree who really wished for a decision unfavourable to you—such as the Domitii, the Scipios; and when they interposed in this matter with the design of provoking his veto, Curio made a very neat reply. "He was all the more happy," he said, "not to veto the decree, because he saw that certain persons who voted for it did not wish it carried."

As for politics, every controversy centres on one point—the provinces. In this matter Pompey as yet seems to have thrown all his weight on the side of the senate's wish that Cæsar should leave his province on the 13th of November.

when it was held, or whether it was held at all, and he would be influenced by the convenience of public business.

¹ *De hostiis*, i.e., as to the kind and perhaps number of victims, as we find often in Livy. The change to *de hostibus* makes a considerable ambiguity, for it was on the claim of a triumph, not a *supplicatio*, that the general had to make a return of the numbers of the enemy that had fallen. Besides, if we read *de hostibus*, it would be better (with Schütz) to read *ut numerarentur*, for the singular number refers to "counting out" the senate.

Curio is resolved to submit to anything rather than allow this: he has given up all his other proposals. Our people, whom you know so well, do not venture to push matters to extremes. The situation turns entirely on this: Pompey, professing not to be attacking Cæsar, but to be making an arrangement which he considers fair to him, says that Curio is deliberately seeking pretexts for strife. However, he is strongly against, and evidently alarmed at, the idea of Cæsar becoming consul-designate before handing over his army and province. He is being attacked with some violence, and his whole second consulship is being roughly criticised by Curio.¹ Mark my words—if they push their suppression of Curio to extremes, Cæsar will interpose in favour of the vetoing tribune; if, as it seems they will do, they shrink from this, Cæsar will stay in his province as long as he chooses. The vote given by each is in the memorandum of city events;² from which pick out what is worth reading: skip much, especially the hissing at the games and accounts of funerals and other unimportant gossip. It has a good deal worth knowing. The fact is, I prefer erring on the side of telling what you don't want, to passing over anything necessary. I am glad that you have interested yourself in the business of Sittius. But since you suspect the men I sent to you of being of doubtful fidelity, please act as my agent yourself.

CCLXVII (A VI, 4)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TARSUS, JUNE

I ARRIVED at Tarsus on the 5th of June. There I was disturbed on many accounts—a serious war in Syria; serious

¹ Because in it (B.C. 55) the legislation was passed which gave Cæsar his present claims, *i.e.*, the law of Trebonius giving him five more years in his province.

² Not the public gazette (*acta*), but the private one which Cælius caused to be drawn up for Cicero's benefit.

cases of brigandage in Cilicia ; difficulty in fixing on any definite scheme of administration, considering that only a few days remained of my year of office ; and, greatest difficulty of all, the necessity, according to the decree of the senate, of leaving some one at the head of the province. No one could be less suitable than the quæstor Mescinius¹—for of Cælius I don't hear a word. Far the best course appears to be to leave my brother Quintus with *imperium*. But in doing that many disagreeable consequences are involved—our separation, the risk of a war, the ill-conduct of the soldiers,² hundreds of others. What a nuisance the whole business is ! But let fortune look to it, since any great exercise of reason is out of the question. As for you, since by this time, I hope, you are safe at Rome, you will as usual be good enough to look after everything which you may understand to affect my interests, especially in regard to my Tullia, about whose marriage I have written to Terentia my decision, since you were in Greece. In the next place, see to the honour to be decreed to me : for owing to your absence from Rome, I fear that the motion in the senate, in virtue of my despatch, was not sufficiently pressed. The following I will write to you in a more enigmatical style than usual—your sagacity will smell out the meaning : *my wife's freedman—you know whom I mean—seemed to me, from a remark he casually let fall the other day, to have cooked his accounts as to the purchase of the property of the Crotonian tyrannicide. I really fear that you may have noticed something. Pray on your sole responsibility, examine thoroughly into the matter and make the remainder completely secure.*³

¹ See p. 167.

² He has lately heard of the murder of two of the sons of Bibulus in a mutiny of Gabinus's soldiers in Egypt. See next letter.

³ Written in Greek. The phrase *διδουκα δὴ μὴ τι νοήσῃς* can only mean as above, "I fear you have noticed something," not as Tyrrell and others translate, "I fear there is something you have *not* noticed." Cicero has apparently been alarmed by some sentence in a letter of Atticus. We don't know what had happened, but in some way Philotinus, Terentia's freedman, had dealt with Milo's (the "Crotonian tyrannicide," in allusion to Milo, the runner of Croton) confiscated property. Now we are told by Asconius (§ 159) that, owing to his immense debts, Milo's property was transferred to the sector for a nominal sum (*bona eius propter aris alieni magnitudinem semuncia venierunt*). When there is no balance, the agent will generally be

I cannot express the extent of my fear. Pray let a letter from you fly to meet me. I write this in haste, being on the march, and with the army. Love to Pilia, and the prettiest of maids, Cæcilia.

CCLXVIII (A VI, 5)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TARSUS, 26 JUNE

By this time you must surely be in Rome; and I rejoice at your safe arrival there, if it is so. As long, in fact, as you were absent from town, you seemed to me farther removed from me than if you were at home, for my own affairs were less known to me, and so were those of the state. Wherefore, though I hope by the time you read this to be far advanced on my way home, pray send letters frequently, and as talkative as possible on every kind of subject, to meet me: above all, on the subject on which I wrote to you before: "*my wife's freedman, as in our meetings and conversations he continually stammered and seemed at a loss, appeared to me to have a little cooked the accounts of the Crotonian.*" Please run that to earth, as is your wont; but still more the following: *When leaving the city of the seven hills he handed in an account of two debts of 24 and 48 minæ due to Camillus: and entered himself as liable for 24 minæ from the Crotonian's estate, and 48 from the property in the Chersonese. And having received in legacies two sums of 640 minæ, of this he says that not a penny has been paid, though it was all due on the 1st of the 2nd month: but that Milo's freedman, the namesake of Conon's father (Timotheus), had entirely failed to provide for the payment of the money. In regard, then, to this money, if possible secure the whole amount, and if not, don't neglect the interest calculated from the above-mentioned day. I have felt much*

suspected. Philotimus's connexion with the affair we have already heard of. See p. 142.

alarm about this all the days I had to endure him. For he visited me to survey the situation, and almost with a hope of something turning up. But when he gave up that hope he quitted me without reason assigned, and with the remark: "I yield,

"'Twere shame to linger here.'"¹

And he flung in my teeth the proverb, "Never refuse a good offer."² See to the surplus, and do the best that can be done in the matter.

Although I am now almost at the end of my year's full term of office—for there are only thirty-three days left—I am yet overpowered with anxiety for the province to the highest possible degree. For as Syria is in a war fever, and Bibulus has the burden of an extreme anxiety as to the war in the midst of such bitter private sorrow,³ and as his legates, quæstor, and friends write to me to come to his aid, though I have only a weak army (the auxiliaries are certainly good, Galatians, Pisidians, Lycians—for they are the flower of my force), yet I thought it my duty to keep my army as near as possible to the enemy, as long as the decree of the senate allowed me to remain governor of the province. But what pleases me most is that Bibulus is not importunate; he writes to me about everything rather than this, and the day of my departure is insensibly creeping on. When that arrives there is another "problem"—who to put in charge, unless my quæstor Calpurnius⁴ shall have arrived, of whom as yet I have had no certain intelligence. I should like, by Hercules, to compose a longer letter, but I neither have anything to tell you, nor can I jest for anxiety. Good-bye, therefore, and give my love to the little maid "Atticula" and our Pilia.

¹ In Greek. The quotation is from Hom. *Il.* ii. 298, αἰσχρὸν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γὰρ μένειν κενὸν γὰρ νίσσθαι.

² τὰ μὲν δίδόμενα, sc. δέχου, or some such word.

³ The murder of his sons in Egypt.

⁴ See p. 164.

CCLXIX (A VI, 7)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TARSUS, JUNE (AFTER THE 26TH)

QUINTUS the younger has managed to reconcile his father to your sister. He shewed real filial feeling in the matter; and though it is true that I earnestly exhorted him to do so, yet my persuasion fell on willing ears. Your letter moved us both very strongly. Well! I feel confident that things are as we wish. I have written to you twice about money matters in Greek, and enigmatically—if the letters have but reached you. Of course no active step is to be taken. Yet, by putting plain questions to him¹ about Milo's debts, and by urging him to fulfil his obligations to me, you will do some good. I have ordered my quaestor Mescinius to await me at Laodicea, that I may be able, in accordance with the Julian law, to leave two copies of my accounts complete in two cities. I then intend to go to Rhodes for the sake of the boys, thence as soon as possible to Athens, though the Etesian winds are strong against me. But I wish to get home while the present magistrates are in office, whose good disposition to myself I have experienced in the matter of the supplication. Nevertheless, be sure you send a letter to meet me, to tell me whether in your opinion there is any reason on the score of politics for my delaying my return. Tiro would have written to you, only I left him seriously ill at Issus. But I have news that he is better. Nevertheless I am distressed. For nothing can exceed that young man's purity of conduct and attention to business.

¹ Philotimus. See the two previous letters.

CCLXX (F VIII, 13)

M. CÆLIUS RUFUS TO CICERO (IN CILICIA)

ROME (JUNE)

I CONGRATULATE you on a son-in-law who is, on my word, the best of men: for that is my opinion of him. Some other blemishes in his character, by which he has hitherto stood in his own light, are already shaken off by age; and, if any remain, I feel sure that they will be quickly removed by your society and influence, and by the modesty of Tullia. For he is not obstinate in vice, nor blunted beyond the power of understanding the higher life. Last, but not least, I am very fond of him.

You will be eager, my dear Cicero, to hear that our friend Curio had a fine conclusion to his veto of the decrees concerning the provinces. For on a motion in regard to the veto being brought before the house—a motion ordered by decree of the senate—and when M. Marcellus had proposed that the tribunes should be remonstrated with, a full senate voted a direct negative. The fact is that Pompey is now so out of sorts,¹ that he can scarcely find anything to suit him. They have come round to this—that Cæsar is to be allowed to stand for the consulship without giving up army or provinces. How Pompey is likely to endure this I will write you word as soon as I know. What is to happen to the Republic, if he resists this in arms or ignores it, that will be the concern of you rich seniors. At the moment of my writing Hortensius is dying.

¹ *Stomacho ita languenti*, referring by a *double entendre* to his illness. See p. 168.

CCLXXI (F II, 17)

TO GNÆUS SALLUSTIUS (PROQUÆSTOR IN SYRIA)

TARSUS, 18 JULY

YOUR orderly delivered me your letter at Tarsus on the 17th of July, and I will now proceed to answer it, as I perceive is your wish, in detail. About my successor I have heard nothing, and I don't think there will be one. There is no reason for my not leaving the province to the day, especially as all fear from the Parthians is removed. I am strongly inclined to stop nowhere. I think I shall go to Rhodes for the sake of the boys, but of even that I am not certain. I wish to arrive outside the city as soon as possible, yet the course of politics and events in Rome will guide the course of my journey. Your successor cannot in any case make such haste as to enable you to meet me in Asia. As to delivering the copies of accounts, your non-delivery of them, for which you say Bibulus gave you licence, is no inconvenience to me : but I scarcely think you are justified in so doing by the Julian law, which Bibulus disregards on a certain settled principle,¹ but which I think you ought certainly to observe. You say that the garrison ought not to have been withdrawn from Apamea ; I see that others think the same, and I am much annoyed that rather unpleasant remarks have been made by my ill-wishers. As to whether the Parthians have crossed or not I perceive that you are the only man who has any doubt. Accordingly, all the garrisons, which I had raised to a state of great effectiveness I have been induced by the positive assertions I hear made to dismiss. As to my quæstor's accounts, it was neither reasonable that I should send them to you, nor were

¹ Because he would not acknowledge the Julian laws of B.C. 59, which he considered to have been rendered null and void by his *obnuntiatio*.

they then made up. I think of depositing them at Apamea. Of the booty taken by me no one, except the quæstors of the city—that is, the Roman people—has touched or will touch a farthing. At Laodicea I think I shall accept sureties for all public money, so that both I and the people may be insured against loss in transit. As to what you say about the 100,000 drachmæ, in a matter of that kind no concession to anyone is possible on my part. For every sum of money is either treated as booty, in which case it is administered by the *præfecti*, or it is paid over to me, in which case it is administered by the quæstor. You ask me what my opinion is as to the legions which the senate has ordered for Syria.¹ I had my doubts before about their coming; now I feel no doubt, if news is received in time of there being peace in Syria, that they will not come. I see that Marius, the successor to the province, will be slow in coming precisely because the Senate has decreed that he should accompany the legions.

There's the answer to one letter. Now for the second. You ask me to recommend you as earnestly as possible to Bibulus. In this matter inclination on my part is not wanting, but it seems to me to be a proper opportunity for expostulating with you: for you are the only man of all Bibulus's staff who never informed me of his complete and causeless alienation from me. For a number of people reported to me that, when there was a great alarm at Antioch, and great hopes were entertained of me and my army, he was accustomed to say that they would prefer to endure anything rather than be thought to have wanted my help. I am not at all annoyed that, from the loyalty due from a quæstor to his prætor, you say nothing of this: although I was informed of the treatment you are receiving. He, for his part, when writing to Thermus about the Parthian war, never sent me a line, though he knew that the danger from that war specially affected me. The only subject on which he wrote to me was the augurship of his son:² in regard to which I was in-

¹ These are the two legions, of which one was to be supplied by Pompey, and one by Cæsar, but which eventually both came to Italy from Cæsar's army, and were *not* sent to Syria.

² Apparently for the vacancy which was filled up at the beginning of this year by M. Antonius or Q. Cassius Longinus. The surviving son

duced by compassion, and by the friendly feelings I had always entertained to Bibulus, to be at the pains of writing to him with the greatest cordiality. If he is universally ill-natured—which I never thought—I am the less offended by his conduct to me: but if he is on special bad terms with me, a letter from me will do you no good. For instance, in his despatch to the senate, Bibulus took the whole credit for matters in which we both had a share. He says in it that he had secured that the rate of exchange should be to the public advantage. Again—and this is wholly my doing—the declining to employ Transpadane auxiliaries he mentions as a concession of his own, also to the profit of the people. On the other hand, when a thing is entirely his own doing, he brings me into it: “When we demanded more corn for the auxiliary cavalry” he writes. Surely, again, it is the mark of a small mind, and one which from sheer ill-nature is poor and mean, that because the senate conferred the title of king on Ariobarzanes through me, and commended him to me, he in his despatch does not call him king, but the “son of king Ariobarzanes.” Men of this temper are all the worse if favours are asked of them. Nevertheless, I have yielded to your wish, and have written him a letter, with which you can do what you like when you have received it.

CCLXXII (F II, 15)

TO M. CÆLIUS RUFUS (AT ROME)

(ASIA) AUGUST

NOTHING could have been more correct or wise than your dealings with Curio as to my *supplicatio*: and, by Hercules, the business was settled exactly as I wished, both from its speed and because the person whom it irritated—the rival, I

of Bibulus (L. Calpurnius Bibulus)—by his wife Porcia, afterwards wife of M. Brutus—lived till about B.C. 31, and wrote a memoir of his step-father Brutus.

mean, of us both¹—voted with the man who complimented my achievements in terms of extraordinary praise. Wherefore let me tell you I have hopes of the next step :² so be prepared for it. I am glad in the first place to hear your compliments to Dolabella, and in the second place to find that you like him. For what you say of the possibility of his being reformed by Tullia's good sense, I know to what letter of your own it is an answer.³ What if you were to read the letter which I wrote to Appius at the time after reading yours? But what would you have? It is the way of the world. What is done is done, and heaven prosper it! I hope I shall find him an agreeable son-in-law, and in that respect your kindness will be of much assistance.

Politics make me very anxious. I am fond of Curio : I wish Cæsar to shew himself an honest man : I could die for Pompey : but after all nothing is dearer in my sight than the Republic itself. In this you are not making yourself very conspicuous, for you seem to me to have your hands tied—by being at once a good citizen and a good friend. On quitting my province, I have put my quæstor Cælius in command. "A mere boy," say you. Yes, but a quæstor, a young man of high rank, and in accordance with nearly universal precedent : for there was no one who had held higher office for me to put in that position. Pomptinus had departed long ago : my brother Quintus could not be induced : moreover, if I had left him, enemies would have said that I had not really left the province at the end of a year, in accordance with the decree of the senate, since I left a second self behind me. Perhaps they might even have added, that the senate had ordered that those should govern provinces who had not done so before; whereas my brother had governed Asia for three years. In fine, I have now no anxieties : if I had left my brother behind, I should have been afraid of everything. Lastly, not so much of my own initiative, as following the precedent set by the two most

¹ Hirrus, who stood for the augurship against Cicero in B.C. 53, and for the ædileship against Curio in B.C. 51.

² A triumph.

³ He means that by the complimentary remarks as to Dolabella, Cælius had tried to do away with the impression likely to have been made by what he had said about Dolabella before (Letter CCXLI).

powerful men of the day, who have secured the allegiance of all the Cassii and Antonii,¹ I have not so much been desirous to attract a young man to myself, as unwilling to repel him. You must needs praise this policy of mine: for it cannot now be changed. You did not write clearly enough to me about Ocella, and it was not mentioned in the gazette. Your doings are so well known, that even on the other side of Mount Taurus the story of Matrinius was heard. Unless the Etesian winds delay me, I shall, I hope, see you before long.

CCLXXIII (F XV, II)

TO C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS (CONSUL)

(ASIA, AUGUST)

How much trouble you have taken as to the honour to be bestowed on me, and how far your conduct as consul in complimenting me and promoting my dignity has been exactly the same as—in common with your ancestors and your whole family—it had always been before, though facts spoke for themselves, I have nevertheless been informed by letters from all my friends. Accordingly, there is no service so great that I am not bound and fully purposed zealously and gladly to do in your interests. For it makes a great difference who the man is to whom one is under an obligation: but there is no one to whom I preferred to be under an obligation before yourself, to whom, while common interests and kindnesses received both from your father and yourself had already closely united me, there is now added what in my opinion is the strongest bond of all, the fact that your present and past administration of the Republic (the thing dearest to me in the world) is of such a nature, that I cannot disown an obligation to you in my single

¹ Pompey had chosen Cassius, Cæsar Antonius, as their quaestors. Cicero argues that he has done less—for he has only employed the quaestor assigned him by lot (vol. i., p. 73; 2 *Phil.* § 50).

person as great as that which all loyalists put together owe you. Wherefore I wish you the success which you deserve, and which I feel confident you will have. Unless my voyage, which falls in precisely with the Etesian winds, delays me, I hope to see you shortly.

CCLXXIV (F III, 12)

TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER (AT ROME)

SIDA, 3 AUGUST

I WILL first congratulate you—for that is what the order of events demands: and then I will speak of myself. I do warmly congratulate you on the result of the trial for bribery, and not on what nobody ever had any doubt about—your acquittal—but on the fact which, the better citizen, the more illustrious man, the more loyal friend you are, the greater the marks of virtue and industry distinguishing you, is the more to be wondered at, namely, that no secret ill-will was found lurking even in the concealment of the ballot bold enough to attack you. It is a fact scarcely consistent with the circumstances, the men, and the morals of our day. I have not been so much struck by anything for a long time past.

Now as to myself—for a moment put yourself in my place, and imagine yourself to be just what I am. If you have no difficulty in finding something to say, don't excuse my hesitation. I, indeed, would hope for myself and my Tullia, as you most kindly and politely express your wishes, that what has been done by my family without my knowledge may turn out to our happiness. But that the marriage happened to take place at that particular time—I hope and desire that it may not be wholly without happiness, yet after all it is your wisdom and kindness which gives me more ground for that hope than the opportuneness of it.¹ Ac-

¹ Cicero is trying to excuse the fact that Dolabella's marriage to Tullia was just at the time that he was prosecuting Claudius.

cordingly, I cannot think how to end what I have begun to say ; for I ought not to make any gloomy remark on an event which you honour with your felicitations, and yet after all there is something in it which stings me. But in this matter there is one thing of which I am not afraid of your not being fully aware—that what was done was done by others, to whom I have left a charge that during my absence they should not refer to me, but should act on their own judgment. Here I am met by the question, “What would you have done if you had been at home?” I should have approved of the match ; as to the time, I should have done nothing without your consent, or without consulting you. You see how I have all this time been sweating under the hard task of finding how to maintain what I am bound to maintain, and yet not offend you.¹ Relieve me, then, of this burden : for I think I have never handled a more difficult cause. Be sure of this in any case : had I not at that very time already completed the whole business with the greatest zeal for the maintenance of your highest reputation—although I think my old affection for you admits of no addition—yet when this marriage was announced to me, I should have defended your honour, not indeed with greater zeal, but more keenly, openly, and markedly.

On my way from my province, after the conclusion of my year of command, as I was approaching Sida on board ship, accompanied by Q. Servilius, a letter from home was delivered to me on the 3rd of August. I at once told Servilius—for he seemed somewhat put out—that he might expect greater exertions on my part in all ways. In short : I have not become at all better disposed to you than I was, but I have become much more energetic in declaring my good disposition. For as our old difference made me more on my guard against giving any ground for thinking our reconciliation feigned, so this new marriage connexion gives me fresh anxiety to avoid the appearance of any diminution of my extreme affection for you.

¹ Cicero feels that the case is an awkward one ; and his style becomes laboured and involved in trying to put it pleasantly.

CCLXXV (A VI, 6)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

(SIDA, 11 AUGUST?)

WHILE employed in my province in doing everything for the honour of Appius, I suddenly became his accuser's father-in-law. "Heaven prosper it," you say. So say I, and I am sure you wish it. But believe me, it was the last thing I expected: in fact, I had even sent confidential messengers to my wife and daughter in regard to Tiberius Nero, who had made proposals to me; but they arrived at Rome after the betrothal had taken place. However, I hope this will be better. I understand that the ladies are much pleased with the young man's accommodating temper and courtesy. As for the rest, pick no holes!

But you now! Corn doles to Athens? Do you approve of this? However, my treatise¹ at any rate did not forbid it: for that was not a largess to citizens, but a gift to hosts. Yet do you bid me think about the "propylon" for the Academy, though Appius has abandoned his idea about Eleusis?² I am sure you grieve for Hortensius.³ I am heart-broken myself: for I had resolved to live on very intimate terms with him. I have put Cælius in command of the province: a mere boy, you will say, and perhaps empty-headed, with neither solidity nor self-control. I agree: but nothing else was possible. The letter, indeed, which I received from you a good while ago, in which you said that you "hesitated" as to what I ought to do about leaving a substitute, gave me a twinge, for I saw your reasons

¹ *De Republica*. Atticus's present of corn to Athens did not stand on the same ground as the regular distribution of cheap corn at Rome, which Cicero had denounced in his book.

² See p. 146. Cicero never carried out his idea of erecting a propylon for the Academy, and indeed he never had money to spare for such things, being one of those men who handle large sums and yet are perpetually in difficulties. Appius appears to have built his.

³ See Letter CLXXI. Hortensius died in June.

for your "hesitation,"¹ and I had the very same. Hand over my province to a mere boy? Well, to my brother, then? The latter was against my interest: for there was no one except my brother whom I could prefer to my quæstor without casting a slur on him, especially as he was of noble birth. Nevertheless, as long as the Parthians appeared to be threatening, I had resolved to leave my brother, or even to remain myself, contrary to the decree of the senate, for the sake of the Republic. But when by incredible good fortune they had dispersed, all my hesitation was at an end. I saw what people would say: "What, leave his brother! is this what he calls not holding his province more than a year? Did not the senate, again, intend that the governors of provinces should be those who had not had them before? Yet this man has held one for three years!" So here are my reasons for the public ear. What am I to give you privately? I should never have been without anxiety as to something happening from ill-temper, violent language, or carelessness,² as will happen in this world. Again, if his son did anything—a mere lad and a lad full of self-confidence? What a distress it would have been! His father was resolved not to part with him, and was annoyed with you for expressing an opinion that he should do so. But as to Cælius, as things are, I don't say that I don't care about his antecedents, but at any rate I care much less. Then there is this consideration: Pompey—so strong a man and in so secure a position—selected Q. Cassius without regard to the lot; Cæsar did the same in the case of Antony: was I to put such a slight on one regularly assigned me by lot, as to make him act as a spy on any man I left in command? No, the course I adopted was the better one, and for it there are many precedents, and certainly it is more suited to my advanced time of life. But, good heavens! what credit I have given you in his eyes! I read him the letter written, not by you, but by your amanuensis.

My friends' letters summon me to a triumph—a thing

¹ ἐπέχουσιν, ἐποχή, "suspense of judgment," technical terms of the academic Agnostics.

² The sharp temper of Quintus is often referred to. See vol. i., pp. 183-185.

which, in view of the resuscitation of my reputation, I do not think I ought to neglect. Wherefore, my dear Atticus, do begin to wish it too, that I may look somewhat less foolish.

CCLXXVI (F III, 13)

TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER (AT ROME)

ASIA (AUGUST)

JUST as though I divined that some day or other I should have to ask for your zealous support, I worked hard for your reputation when the question of your actions was on the *tapis*. However, I will not disguise the truth: you have given more than you got. For every single person has written to tell me that, not only by the weight of your eloquence and your senatorial vote—which from such a man were quite enough for me—but also by personal exertion, by offer of advice, by coming to my house and calling on my friends, you left nothing, however troublesome, for anyone else to do. All this is a much greater honour to me than the thing itself for which the trouble is being taken. For the outward rewards of virtue many have attained without possessing virtue: but such great zeal from such men as you virtue alone can secure. Accordingly, I set before myself as the profit to be derived from our friendship that friendship itself, than which nothing can be more fruitful, especially in those studies to which we have both devoted ourselves. For I profess myself to be both your ally in politics, on which our sentiments agree, and closely united in daily life, which we devote to such accomplishments and studies. I could have wished that fate had so ordained it that you could value all my family as highly as I do yours. Even as to this, however, I have a sort of intuition which prevents my despairing. But this does not touch you: the burden is wholly mine. I wish you to clearly understand that in this change of circumstances something has been added to my affection towards you—to which no addition seemed

possible—rather than anything detracted from it. When I write this I hope you are already censor. My letter is all the shorter and more modest as being addressed to a “director of morals.”¹

CCLXXVII (F XV, 6)

TO M. PORCIUS CATO (AT ROME)

(ASIA, SEPTEMBER)

“RIGHT glad am I to be praised”—says Hector, I think, in Nævius—“by thee, reverend senior, who hast thyself been praised.” For certainly praise is sweet that comes from those who themselves have lived in high repute. For myself, there is nothing I should not consider myself to have attained either by the congratulation contained in your letter, or the testimony borne to me in your senatorial speech: and it was at once the highest compliment and the greatest gratification to me, that you willingly conceded to friendship, what you transparently conceded to truth. And if, I don’t say all, but if many were Catos in our state—in which it is a matter of wonder that there is even one—what triumphal chariot or laurel should I have compared with praise from you? For in regard to my feelings, and in view of the ideal honesty and subtilty of your judgment, nothing can be more complimentary than the speech of yours, which has been copied for me by my friends. But the reason of my wish, for I will not call it desire, I have explained to you in a former letter. And even if it does not appear to you to be entirely sufficient, it at any rate leads to this conclusion—not that the honour is one to excite excessive desire, but yet is one which, if offered by the senate, ought certainly not to be rejected. Now I hope that that

¹ *Magister morum*, i.e., censor. In the *de Prov. Cons.* § 46, he describes the censorship as *magisterium morum*, for the censors had the right to inquire in many respects into the private life of citizens.

House, considering the labours I have undergone on behalf of the state, will not think me undeserving of an honour, especially one that has become a matter of usage. And if this turns out to be so, all I ask of you is that—to use your own most friendly words—since you have paid me what in your judgment is the highest compliment, you will still “be glad” if I have the good fortune to get what I myself have preferred.¹ For I perceive that you have acted, felt, and written in this sense: and the facts themselves shew that the compliment paid me of a *supplicatio* was agreeable to you, since your name appears on the decree: for decrees of the senate of this nature are, I am aware, usually drawn out by the warmest friends of the man concerned in the honour. I shall, I hope, soon see you, and may it be in a better state of political affairs than my fears forbode!

CCLXXVIII (F VIII, 12)

M. CÆLIUS RUFUS TO CICERO (ON HIS JOURNEY HOME)

ROME, SEPTEMBER

I AM ashamed to confess to you and to complain of the injuries done me by Appius—that most ungrateful of men, who begins to hate me because he is under great obligations to me; and since, in his avarice, he could not constrain himself to pay his debt, he has declared a secret war against me, yet not so secret either but that many people reported it to me, and I myself observed without difficulty that he was harbouring evil thoughts of me. When, however, I discovered that he had been tampering with the college,² then that he had been openly colloquing with certain persons,

¹ Cato had voted against the *supplicatio*, and Cicero has to tax his skill to appear not to be vexed (as he was), and to assume that Cato's complimentary speech was as good as if he voted for it. He is answering Cato's letter. See Letter CCLXV.

² Apparently the college of augurs, to which Cælius wished to be elected.

deliberating with L. Domitius¹—at present my bitterest enemy—and expressing a wish to offer this trifling favour to Cn. Pompeius, I could not prevail on myself to upbraid him personally, or to beg one, whom I considered owed his life to me, to refrain from injuring me. What, then, could I do? However, I spoke to several of his friends, who were acquainted with my services to him. When I perceived that he did not think me even worth conciliating, I preferred putting myself under an obligation to his colleague²—a man very much out of sympathy with me, and not likely to be very well-disposed to me, owing to my friendship with you—rather than endure the sight of that ape. When he ascertained this, he flew into a rage and kept exclaiming that I was looking for an excuse for hostility, in order that, since he had not done what I wanted in regard to the money, I might cover my attack upon him by this show of a personal quarrel. Since then he has not ceased egging on Servius Pola to accuse me, and concerting measures with Domitius. And when they were not successful in securing anyone to accuse me under any law, they wanted me to be attacked under a law which gave them no ground for saying a word. Their impudence was so boundless, that they secured an information being laid against me under the Scantinian law³ at the very height of the Circensian games, in which I was presiding. Scarcely had Pola got the words out of his mouth, when I laid an information under the same law against the censor Appius. I never saw a more successful stroke. For it has been approved by the people, and not all the lowest of them, to such an extent, that the scandal has given Appius greater pain than the legal proceedings. Besides this, I have started an action for recovering a shrine now within the walls of his house.

I am much disturbed by the detention of the slave who takes this letter to you. For since the receipt of your last he has been more than forty days in town. I don't know what to say to you. You know that Domitius dreads the day of election.⁴ I am looking forward much to your return

¹ L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul B.C. 54 with Appius.

² L. Piso, the other censor.

³ Against unnatural crimes.

⁴ To the augurship, which Antony got. See next letter.

and desire to see you as soon as possible. I beg you to feel as much vexed at my wrongs, as you think I ever grieve at, and try to avenge yours.

CCLXXIX (F VIII, 14)

M. CÆLIUS RUFUS TO CICERO (ON HIS
JOURNEY HOME)

ROME, SEPTEMBER

TAKING Arsaces prisoner and storming Seleucia was not worth your missing the spectacle of events which have been going on here. Your eyes would never have ached again, if you had only seen Domitius's look when he lost the election.¹ It was a very full *comitia*, and the voting was evidently on party lines: a very few voted from motives of personal connexion or obligation. Accordingly, Domitius is most bitterly angry with me. He never hated any one even of his own friends so much as he does me: and all the more so that he thinks the augurship has been snatched from him unfairly, and that I am at the bottom of it. Now he is furious that people are so much rejoiced at his vexation, and that there was only one man more zealous for Antony than I was. For the young Cn. Domitius himself has given notice of action against the young Cn. Saturninus—who is very unpopular owing to his past life. The trial is now imminent, with good hope, too, of an acquittal, after the acquittal of Sextus Peducæus. As to high politics—I have often told you in my letters that I see no chance of peace lasting a year; and the nearer the struggle comes, which must come, the clearer does that danger appear. The point, on which the men in power are bound to fight, is this: Cn. Pompeius has made up his mind not to allow C. Cæsar to become consul, except on condition of his first handing over his army and provinces: while Cæsar is fully persuaded that he can-

¹ To the college of augurs (see preceding letter). L. Domitius was already a member of the college of *sacerdotes*.

not be safe if he quits his army. He, however, proposes as a compromise that both should give up their armies. So that mighty love and unpopular union of theirs has not degenerated into mere secret bickering, but is breaking out into open war. Nor can I conceive what line to take in my own conduct—and I feel sure that this doubt will exercise you a good deal also—for between myself and these men there are ties of affection and close connexion, since it is the cause, not the men, that I dislike. I think you are alive to this rule, that men ought in a case of home differences, so long as the contest is carried on constitutionally without an appeal to arms, to follow the party most in the right: when it comes to war and the camp, the stronger party;¹ and to make up one's mind that the safer course is the better. In this quarrel I perceive that Cn. Pompeius has on his side the senate and the *indices*: that Cæsar will be joined by all whose past life gives them reason to be afraid, or their future no reason to hope: that there is no comparison between their armies. On the whole, there is time enough to weigh the forces of both, and to choose sides.

I almost forgot what above everything else I was bound to write to you. Do you know that the censor Appius is doing marvels? Busying himself about statues, pictures, land-owning, and debt with the greatest vigour? He is persuaded that his censorship is a kind of soap or soda. I think he is wrong: while he is meaning to wash off stains, he is really exposing all his veins and vitals. Hurry home, in the name of gods and men! Come as quickly as you can to enjoy a laugh, that a trial under the Scantinian law should be before Drusus, and that Appius should be making regulations about statues and pictures.² Believe me, you ought to make haste. Our friend Curio is thought to have acted prudently in his concession as to Pompey's money for his troops. In a word, you want my opinion as to the future. Unless one or the other of these two goes to the Parthian war, I see that a violent quarrel is impending, which the sword and main force will decide. Both are prepared in resolution

¹ This is rather like Mr. Pickwick's rule as dealing with two election crowds, "to shout with the largest."

² *I.e.*, about the amount of such things which it was legal for a man to own.

and forces. If it could only be transacted without extreme danger, fortune is preparing for you a great and enjoyable spectacle.

CCLXXX (A VI, 8)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

EPHESUS, 1 OCTOBER

JUST as I had resolved to write to you and had actually taken up my pen, Batonius came to me straight from his ship to my house at Ephesus, and gave me your letter on the 29th of September. I am delighted with the pleasant nature of your voyage, with Pilia's opportune appearance, and also, by Hercules, with her remarks about Tullia's marriage.

Batonius, however, brought news about Cæsar that is really terrifying, and he enlarged still more on the subject in conversation with Lepta. I hope what he said was false, but it is certainly alarming: that he would on no account dismiss his army; that of the magistrates-elect the prætors, Cassius the tribune, Lentulus the consul, side with him; that Pompey is thinking of leaving the city. But look here! are you very sorry for the man¹ that is wont to think himself more than a match for the uncle of your sister's son? But what men to be beaten by!² However, to business. The Etesian winds have much retarded me. Exactly twenty days, too, were swallowed up by the Rhodian open ship. On the 1st of October, as I am embarking to leave Ephesus, I give this letter to L. Tarquitiu, who is leaving the harbour at the same time, but is sailing faster than I am. I am forced to wait for fair weather owing to the open ships and other war vessels of the Rhodians; nevertheless, nothing

¹ Probably M. Calidius, who had failed in the consular elections. He seems to have criticised Cicero as an orator.

² The successful candidates, C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus, consuls for B.C. 49.

can exceed the hurry I am in. As to the payment to the Puteolanian, many thanks. Now please look into affairs at Rome, and see what steps you think I ought to take as to the triumph, to which my friends invite me. If it had not been that Bibulus, who, as long as there was a single enemy in Syria, never set foot out of doors any more than he did out of his house at Rome,¹ was exerting himself to get a triumph, I should have been quite indifferent on the matter. Now, however, "twere base to say no word."² But look into the whole matter, that we may be able to decide on our course the day we meet. This is long enough, considering my haste, and that I am giving the letter to a man who will arrive with me, or only a little before me. My son sends his kindest regards to you. Pray give the same from us both to Pilia and your daughter.

CCLXXXI (A VI, 9)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ATHENS, 15 OCTOBER

IMMEDIATELY on my landing in the Piræus, on the 14th of October, I received your letter from the hand of my slave Acastus. Having been long looking forward to it, I was surprised, as soon as I looked at the letter before breaking the seal, at its brevity; when I opened it I was again surprised at the cramped handwriting, for your letters are generally supremely well-written and clear, and, to make a long story short, I understood from the fact of your writing like that, that you had arrived at Rome on the 19th of September in a fit of fever. Much disturbed—but not more than I was bound to be—I at once questioned Acastus. He said that both you and he thought, and his impression was confirmed by what your people at Rome told

¹ *I.e.*, during his consulship, B.C. 59, when Cæsar ignored his *obnuntiatio*.

² ἀσχυρὸν σωπαῖν (βαρβάρους δ' εἰάν λίσσιν). Eurip. *Fr.*

him, that it could not be anything serious. This appeared to be supported by an expression used by you at the end of your letter, that you wrote while suffering from a "slight touch of fever." Yet it roused my gratitude, as well as my surprise, that you should, in spite of it, have written to me with your own hand. So enough about this. For I hope, considering your prudence and temperate life, and, by heaven, I feel confident—as Acastus bids me—that by this time you are as well as I could wish.

I am glad you have got my letter from Turranius. Keep an eye, an you love me, and a very keen one, upon the ambition of that cooker of accounts.¹ This legacy again—which I swear is a source of great grief to me, for I loved the man—this legacy of Precius don't let him lay a single finger upon. You will say that I shall want some ready money for the expenses of the triumph, which, as you advise, you shall find me neither weakly vain in seeking, nor over-modest in declining. I gather from your letter that Turranius told you that I had handed over my province to my brother. Do you think I so entirely failed to grasp the wise caution of your letter? You said your judgment was in "suspense." What could have called for your hesitation, if there had been any reason whatever for deciding that a brother should be left in command, and such a brother? I took your meaning to be "dogmatic rejection,"² not "suspension of judgment." You urged in regard to the young Quintus, that I should not leave him in any case. "You tell me my own dream."³ The same points occurred to us both, just as though we had talked it over together. It was the only thing to be done, and your "long suspension of judgment" relieved me of all doubt. But I fancy you have already a letter on this subject written in more detail. I intend to send off letter-carriers to-morrow, who I think will arrive sooner than our friend Saufeius. But it was scarcely decent that he should arrive without a letter from me to

¹ Philotimus, a freedman of Terentia's, whom Cicero suspected of dishonesty. We shall hear more of him. The sentence, like those in previous letters referring to him, is in Greek: παραφύλαξον τὴν τοῦ φουρατοῦ φιλοτιμίαν ἀντόρατα, with a pun on the name of Philotimus.

² ἀθέτησις. For ἐποχή. See p. 191.

³ τοῦ μόνον ἐνυπνίου ἐμοί, "you but repeat my own thoughts."

you. In your turn, pray fulfil your promise of writing fully to me of my Tulliola, that is, of Dolabella, of politics—which I foresee will be in a very dangerous situation—of the censors, and especially what is taking place about the statues and pictures, whether the matter will be brought before the senate. I write this on the 15th of October, on which day, you tell me, Cæsar is going to bring four legions to Placentia.¹ Pray, what is to become of us? My post on the Acropolis of Athens seems to me at present the best one.

CCLXXXII (F XIV, 5)

TO TERENCE (AT ROME)

ATHENS, 16 OCTOBER

If you and my darling Tullia are well, I and my dearest boy Cicero are so too. On the 14th of October I arrived at Athens, after experiencing unfavourable winds and a slow and unpleasant voyage. As I was disembarking, Acastus met me with letters, the 21st day since his start, which is very active travelling. I received one from you, in which you tell me that you fear your previous letters did not reach me. I got them all: you have shewn the greatest energy in writing me full accounts of everything, and I am exceedingly obliged to you. I was not surprised that the letter brought by Acastus was short: for you are expecting me, or rather us, immediately in person: and we are anxious to reach you at the earliest possible time, though I am fully aware to what a state of public affairs I am coming: for the letters brought me by Acastus from many of my friends have shewn me that things look warlike, so that when I do arrive I shall not be able to cloak my sentiments. But since

¹ This rumour, referred to again, caused great alarm at Rome, but was false (Appian, *B. C.* ii. 31). It was in consequence of it, however, that the consul Marcellus deputed Pompey to raise troops in Italy.

there is no shirking fate, I shall make the more haste, that I may consider the whole crisis with greater ease. Pray, as well as your health will permit, come as far as you can to meet me. As to the inheritance from Precius—I am deeply grieved at it, for I loved the man—I wish you to see to this: if the auction takes place before my arrival, let Pomponius, or, if he can't, Camillus act for us. As soon as I am safe at home I will look after the rest of the business myself. But if you have already started from Rome, still see that this arrangement is made. Dearest, sweetest Terentia, as you love me, take care, all of you, of your health. Good-bye.

CCLXXXIII (A VII, 1)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ATHENS (16 OCTOBER)

I DID, in fact, give L. Saufeius a letter, and to you alone, because, though I had not sufficient time for writing, I was yet unwilling that a man so intimate with you should reach you without a letter from me. But considering the deliberate pace adopted by philosophers, I think the present letter will reach you first. If, however, you have already received the former, you are aware that I arrived at Athens on the 14th of October: that on disembarking at the Piræus, I received your letter from the hands of Acastus: that I was much disturbed at your having arrived at Rome with a fever on you, but was reassured by Acastus bringing the news I wished for as to your convalescence; that I was, however, horrified at what your letter told me of Cæsar's legions; and urged you to take care that the "*φιλοτιμία*"¹ of him you wot of does us no injury. Lastly, on a subject on which I had long ago written to you, but Turranius had misinformed you at Brundisium—as I learnt from a letter received from that

¹ A pun again on the name of the officious or self-seeking Philotimus, as in Letter CCLXXXI, p. 200.

excellent man Xeno—I explained briefly why I had not placed my brother at the head of my province. Such was nearly the substance of that letter. Now for the rest. In the name of fortune, do devote all the affection with which you have blessed me, and all the wisdom you possess—which in my judgment is unrivalled on every subject—to considering my entire position. For I think I foresee such a violent struggle—unless the same god, who relieved me from fear of a Parthian war by a stroke of luck beyond what I had ventured to hope, shall now shew regard for the Republic—such a struggle, I say, as there has never been before. Well! this is a misery which I share with all the world. I don't bid you reflect on that. It is my own particular "problem" that I would beg you to take up. Don't you see that it was on your advice that I sought the friendship of both? Yes, and I could wish that I had listened to your most friendly hints from the beginning:

"But in my breast my heart thou couldst not sway."¹

Yet at length, after all, you did persuade me to embrace the one, because he had done me eminent service, and the other, because he was so powerful. I did so, therefore: and by shewing them every kind of attention contrived that neither of them should regard anyone with more affection than myself. My idea, in fact, was this—if I were allied with Pompey, I should not hereafter be compelled to take any improper step in politics, nor, if I agreed with Cæsar, have to fight with Pompey: for their union was so close. Now there is impending, as you shew, and as I see, a mortal combat between them. Each of them, again, regards me as his own, unless by any chance one of them is playing a part. Pompey, of course, has no doubt: for he rightly judges that his present view of politics has my approbation. From each, however, I received a letter, at the same time as yours, of a kind calculated to shew that neither values anyone in the world above myself. But what am I to do? I don't mean in the last resort of all—for, if it shall come to downright war, I see clearly that it is better to be beaten with the one, than to conquer

¹ ἀλλ' ἐμὸν οὐποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθες (Hom. *Od.* ix. 33).

with the other—but as to what will be in actual debate when I arrive: that he be not a candidate without returning to Rome—that he dismiss his army. “Speak, Marcus Tullius!”¹ What am I to say? “Wait, please, till I have an interview with Atticus?” It is no time for shuffling. Against Cæsar? What is to become of all our mutual pledges? For the fact is that I helped him to secure this privilege, having been asked by Cæsar himself at Ravenna² to induce Cælius, the tribune, to bring in the bill. By Cæsar himself, do I say? Nay, by our friend Gnæus also, in that immortal third consulship of his. Shall I change my opinions? “I fear to face” not only Pompey, but also “Trojan men and women.”

“Polydamas will be the first to blame.”³

Who is he? Why, you yourself, the applauder of my acts and writings. So it seems, then, that during the last two consulships of the Marcelli⁴ I have avoided this trap, when the subject of Cæsar's province was before the senate, only to fall now into the very jaws of the danger. Therefore let some one else be called upon first for his vote—I am well pleased to be busying myself on something to secure my triumph, and to have an unimpeachable excuse for remaining outside the city. Nevertheless, they will do their best to elicit my opinion. You will perhaps laugh at what I am now going to say. How I wish I were still lingering in my province! I clearly had better have done so, if this was impending. Though nothing could be less pleasant. For I wish you, by the way,⁵ to know this—all those virtues displayed at the beginning of my government, which you, too, in your letters, used to praise to the skies, were only skin deep.⁶ How far from an easy thing is virtue! Nay,

¹ The formula in the senate used by the presiding magistrate in calling on a senator for his vote.

² This is the only indication I know of that Cicero had an interview with Cæsar in B.C. 52. Cælius is M. Cælius Rufus, Cicero's correspondent, tribune in B.C. 52.

³ For the quotation from Homer (*Il.* xxii. 100), see vol. i., p. 90.

⁴ B.C. 51-50, M. Claudius Marcellus and C. Claudius Marcellus. A cousin of the latter, of the same name, was consul-designate for B.C. 49.

⁵ ὁδοῦ πάρεργον.

⁶ ἐπίτηρα.

how difficult a lasting affectation of it! For whereas I thought it equitable and a thing of which to be proud, that out of the sum decreed to me for the year's expenses, I left my quæstor C. Cælius enough to last a year, and paid back into the treasury 1,000,000 sesterces (£8,000), my staff grumbled, thinking that the whole of this money ought to have been divided among them—that I might be found a better friend of the treasuries of the Phrygians and Cilicians than of our own. But they did not move me: for my reputation had supreme weight with me. Nevertheless, there is no mark of honour in my power to bestow on any of them that I have omitted. However, all this, to use the phrase of Thucydides, is a digression,¹ though not without its point. For your part, pray think over my position: in the first place, by what contrivance I may preserve Cæsar's good will; in the second, as to my triumph, which, unless the state of the Republic hinders it, I see is feasible. I judge both from my friends' letters and from the *supplicatio*; for the man who voted against it really voted for more, than if he had voted all the triumphs in the world.² Moreover, only one man voted with him who is my intimate friend—Favonius; and another who is annoyed with me—Hirrus. Moreover, Cato was both on the committee for drawing out the decree, and also sent me a very gratifying letter as to his vote. Nevertheless, Cæsar, in sending me his congratulations on the *supplicatio*, exults over Cato's vote, and yet does not mention what he really said in delivering it, but merely remarks that he voted against my *supplicatio*. To return to Hirrus. You have begun softening his feelings towards me. Complete the process. You have Scrofa and Silius with you; I have already written to them, and to Hirrus himself.³ For he had mentioned to them in obliging terms that he could have hindered the decree, but was unwilling to do so: nevertheless, he agreed with Cato—my very warm friend—when he delivered his vote in terms highly complimentary to me, but remarked that I had not written to him while

¹ ἐκβολὴ λόγου (Thucyd. i. 97).

² Cato. See pp. 174, 193.

³ Cn. Tremellius Scrofa, P. Silius Nerva, C. Luccellus Hirrus, all friends of Atticus and men of position. See the index for references and letters to them.

writing to everyone else. It was quite true: for he and Crassipes were the only people to whom I had not written. So much for public affairs. To return to domestic business. I wish to dissociate myself from that man,¹ He is a complete juggler—a regular son of Laertes:

“But what is past I leave, though grieved at heart.”²

Let us get what remains on a sound footing. This money, coming from Precius to begin with—which adds anxiety to my regret—whatever it amounts to, I do not wish to be mixed up with the accounts of mine of which that fellow has the handling. I have written to Terentia, and to Philotimus himself, to say that whatever money I should collect for the adornment of my expected triumph I should deposit with you. Thus I think there will be no feeling of resentment; but as they choose! Here is another task for you—to consider how I am to set about this business. You gave some indication on this subject in a letter dated from Epirus or Athens, and I will back you up in the course you proposed.

CCLXXXIV (F XVI, 1)

TO TIRO (ILL AT PATRÆ)

ON THE VOYAGE FROM PATRÆ TO ALYZIA* (3 NOVEMBER)

GREETINGS to their dear Tiro from Tullius and my son, brother, and nephew. I did not think I should miss you so much, but I really cannot do without you: and though it is of great consequence to securing my triumph that I should arrive at the city walls as early as possible, yet I feel guilty for having left you: but as you seemed to have made up your mind that you quite determined not to sail till you had recovered your strength, I expressed approval of your plan,

¹ Philotimus.

² ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτερόχθαι βάσομαι, ἀχνύμενοί περ (Hom. *Il.* xviii. 112).

³ On the coast of Acarnania.

nor do I now retract it, if you are still of the same way of thinking. If, however, after having taken food, you think you can overtake me, you must decide for yourself. I have sent Mario to you with directions to rejoin me as soon as possible with you, or, if you are still delayed, to return at once. But pray be fully assured of this : if it is compatible with your state of health, my first desire is to have you with me : if, however, you are certain that a short stay at Patræ is necessary for your convalescence, my first desire is that you should be well. If you set sail at once, you will catch us up at Leucas : but if you determine to stay to confirm your health, pray take particular care to secure suitable fellow travellers, weather, and ship. Be especially careful, dear Tiro, as you love me, not to allow Mario's arrival or this letter to influence you. If you do what will best conduce to your recovery, you will be most strictly obeying my wishes. In considering these matters let your own heart be your guide. I miss you : yes ! but I also love you. Love prompts the wish to see you in good health ; the other motive would make me wish to see you as soon as possible. The former is therefore to be preferred. Accordingly, let your first care be to get well : of the innumerable services you have done me this will be the most acceptable.

3 November.

CCLXXXV (F XVI, 2)

TO TIRO (AT PATRÆ)

ALYZIA, 5 NOVEMBER

I CANNOT express to you in a letter, nor do I wish to do so, what my feelings are. I will merely say, that the greatest possible pleasure both to yourself and me will be to see you as soon as possible in restored health. We arrived at Alyzia on the third day after leaving you. That place is 120 stades¹ south of Leucas. At Leucas I am expecting either to

¹ About fifteen miles.

receive you, or a letter from you by the hands of Mario. Let your efforts to be well be as strong as your affection for me, or as you know mine to be for you.

5 November, Alyzia.

CCLXXXVI (F XVI, 3)

TO TIRO (AT PATRÆ)

ALYZIA, 6 NOVEMBER

AT Alyzia, from which I sent my last letter to you, we have stayed one day, because Quintus had not caught us up. That was the 5th of November. Just as we are starting from thence, before daybreak of the 6th, I despatch this to you. Pray, as you love us all, and especially me, who taught you, get well. I am looking forward with very great anxiety, first of all, of course, for yourself, in default of that for Mario with a letter from you. We are all eager, especially myself, to see you as soon as possible, but only, dear Tiro, if fully recovered. Wherefore don't hurry at all. It will be enough if you are well the day I see you. I can get on without your services. I want you to be well, first of all for your own sake, and then for mine, dear Tiro. Good-bye.

CCLXXXVII (F XVI, 4)

TO TIRO (AT PATRÆ)

LEUCAS, 7 NOVEMBER

WARMEST greeting from Tullius, his son, brother, and nephew to Tiro. Your letter gave me varied emotions. I was much agitated by the first page, a little cheered by the second. So I am now quite clear that, until you are entirely

recovered, you should not risk a journey either by sea or land. I shall see you quite soon enough, if I see you thoroughly restored to health. Yes, what you say in your letter about the doctor being well thought of, I am also told about him. Yet I am far from satisfied with his treatment. For you ought not to have had soup given you when suffering from weak digestion. However, I have written to him with great earnestness, as also to Lyso. To Curius, indeed, that most agreeable, attentive, and kindly of men, I have written at great length. Among other things I have asked him to transfer you from where you are to his own house, if you wished it. For I fear our friend Lyso is somewhat careless: first, because all Greeks are so, and secondly because, though he got a letter from me, he has sent me no answer. However, you speak well of him: you must therefore yourself decide what is best to be done. I do beg you, dear Tiro, not to spare expense in anything whatever necessary for your health. I have written to Curius to honour your draft to any amount: something, I think, ought to be paid to the doctor himself to make him more zealous. Your services to me are past counting—at home, in the forum, at Rome, in my province: in private and public business, in my literary studies and compositions. But there is one service you can render me that will surpass them all—gratify my hopes by appearing before me well and strong! I think, if you are recovered, you will have a most charming voyage home with the quæstor Mescinius.¹ He is not without culture, and is, I thought, attached to you. And while health should be your first and most careful consideration, consider also how to secure a safe voyage, dear Tiro. I wouldn't have you hurry yourself now in any way whatever. I care for nothing but your safety. Be assured, dear Tiro, that no one loves me without loving you; and though it is you and I who are most directly concerned in your recovery, yet it is an object of anxiety to many. Up to this time, in your desire never to leave me in the lurch, you have never had the opportunity of getting strong. Now there is nothing to hinder you: throw everything aside, be a slave to your body. I shall consider the

¹ See p. 178.

amount of attention you pay to your health the measure of your regard for me. Good-bye, dear Tiro, good-bye good-bye, and good health to you! Lepta and all the rest send their kind regards. Good-bye!

Leucas, 7 November.

CCLXXXVIII (F XVI, 5)

TO TIRO (AT PATRÆ)

OFF LEUCAS, 7 NOVEMBER

TULLIUS and his son, Quintus and his son, send warm greetings to Tiro, gentlest and best of men. See what a fascination you possess! We have been two hours at Thyreum.¹ My host Xenomenes is as fond of you as if he had been brought up with you. He has promised to supply you with everything you want: I think he will do so. I should like him, if you are better, to transport you to Leucas, that you might complete your cure there. See what Curius, Lyso, and the doctor think of it. I intended to send Mario back to you, that you might despatch him to me when you were a little better: but I reflected that Mario could only bring me one letter, while I was anxious for several. So you will be able (and pray do so, if you love me) to make Acastus go down to the harbour every day: there will be plenty of people to whom you may safely intrust a letter, and who will be pleased to convey it to me. For my part, I will not omit anyone who is going to Patræ. I place all my reliance for your proper treatment on Curius. Nothing can be kinder than he is, or more attached to me. Put yourself entirely in his hands. I would rather see you a little later strong and well, than at once in a feeble state. Devote yourself, therefore, exclusively to getting well. I will look after everything else. Good-bye again and again.

Just starting from Leucas, 7 November.

¹ On the coast of Acarnania.

CCLXXXIX (F XVI, 6)

TO TIRO (AT PATRÆ)

ACTIUM, 7 NOVEMBER

TULLIUS and his son, Quintus and his son, send warm greetings to Tiro. I write this letter, the third I have written to you the same day, rather in maintenance of my rule, having found some one to whom to give it, than because I have anything to say. The upshot is this: let your attention to yourself be as great as your affection for me. To your innumerable services to me add this, which will be more acceptable to me than them all. When you have taken, as I hope, full account of your health, then see about your voyage also. Send a letter to me by everyone who is going to Italy, and I will not pass over anyone going to Patræ. Take care, good care of yourself, dear Tiro. Since you missed the chance of sailing with me, there is no reason for your being in a hurry or taking thought for anything except getting well. Good-bye! good-bye!

Actium, 7 November (evening).

CCXC (F XVI, 7)

TO TIRO (AT PATRÆ)

CORCYRA, 16 NOVEMBER

CICERO and his son greet Tiro. This is the seventh day of my detention at Corcyra, while Quintus—father and son—are at Buthrotum. I am wonderfully anxious about your health. But I am not surprised at getting no letter from you; for a voyage from your present residence requires winds, such that, if they were blowing now, we should not be loitering at Corcyra. So then take care of yourself and get strong, and, as soon as your health and the time of year

allow of your sailing without discomfort, come to us who love you dearly. No one loves us without having a regard for you. Your arrival is eagerly expected, and you will find an affectionate welcome from everyone. Take care of your health. Again and again, dear Tiro, good-bye!

Corcyra, 16 November.

CCXCI (F XVI, 9)

TO TIRO (AT PATRÆ)

BRUNDISIUM, 26 NOVEMBER

CICERO and his son greet Tiro warmly. We parted from you, as you know, on the 2nd of November. We arrived at Leucas on the 6th of November, on the 7th at Actium. There we were detained till the 8th by a storm. Thence on the 9th we arrived at Corcyra after a charming voyage. At Corcyra we were detained by bad weather till the 15th. On the 16th we continued our voyage to Cassiope, a harbour of Corcyra, a distance of 120 stades. There we were detained by winds until the 22nd. Many of those who in this interval impatiently attempted the crossing suffered shipwreck. On the 22nd, after dinner, we weighed anchor. Thence with a very gentle south wind and a clear sky, in the course of that night and the next day we arrived in high spirits on Italian soil at Hydrus,¹ and with the same wind next day—that is, the 24th of November—at 10 o'clock in the morning we reached Brundisium, and exactly at the same time as ourselves Terentia (who values you very highly) made her entrance into the town. On the 26th, at Brundisium, a slave of Cn. Plancius at length delivered to me the ardently expected letter from you, dated the 13th of November. It greatly lightened my anxiety: would that it had entirely removed it! However, the physician Asclapo positively asserts that you will shortly be well. What need is there for me at this time of day to exhort you to take

¹ Also called Hydruntum; mod. *Otranto*.

every means to re-establish your health? I know your good sense, temperate habits, and affection for me: I am sure you will do everything you can to join me as soon as possible. But though I wish this, I would not have you hurry yourself in any way. I could have wished you had shirked Lyso's concert, for fear of incurring a fourth fit of your seven-day fever. But since you have preferred to consult your politeness rather than your health, be careful for the future. I have sent orders to Curius for a *douceur* to be given to the physician, and that he should advance you whatever you want, engaging to pay the money to any agent he may name. I am leaving a horse and mule for you at Brundisium. At Rome I fear that the 1st of January will be the beginning of serious disturbances. I shall take a moderate line in all respects. It only remains to beg and entreat you not to set sail rashly—seamen are wont to hurry things for their own profit: be cautious, my dear Tiro: you have a wide and difficult sea before you. If you can, start with Mescinius; he is usually cautious about a sea passage: if not, travel with some man of rank, whose position may give him influence over the ship-owner. If you take every precaution in this matter and present yourself to us safe and sound, I shall want nothing more of you. Good-bye, again and again, dear Tiro! I am writing with the greatest earnestness about you to the physician, to Curius, and to Lyso. Good-bye, and God bless you.

CCXCII (A VII, 2)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

BRUNDISIUM, 25 NOVEMBER

I ARRIVED at Brundisium on the 24th of November, after a sea passage of your fortunate kind: so delightfully

“Blew from Epirus the softest of breezes—Onchesmites.”¹

¹ From Onchesmus in Epirus, and south-east as regards Brundisium. It is therefore, it seems, a local name used by sailors between the two

There's a spondaic hexameter for you! You may pass it off as your own before any of our young poets you choose. The state of your health gives me much uneasiness. For your letter indicates that you are really suffering. I, however, knowing your courage, strongly suspect that there is something which absolutely compels you to give in and almost exhausts your strength, although your Pamphilus informed me that one fit of quartan ague had departed, and that another less serious one was approaching. Terentia, indeed, who entered the gate at the same time as I entered the port of Brundisium, told me that L. Pontius had informed her at Trebullanum¹ that that too had left you. If this is the case, it answers, by heaven, to my highest wishes, and I expect that you have obtained it by your prudence and temperate habits.

I now come to your letters, great budgets of which have reached me at the same time, one more delightful than the other, at any rate those that were in your own handwriting. For while I like the handwriting of Alexis, for its excellent imitation of your own, yet I don't like it for its indication that you are not well. And talking of him,² I have left Tiro ill at Patræ, a young man, as you know, and add, if you please, of excellent character. I have never seen a better. Accordingly, I miss him very much. Though he did not think himself seriously ill, I am yet anxious, and rest my greatest hopes in the assiduous attention of Manius Curius, of which Tiro has spoken in his letters and many have told me by word of mouth. Moreover, Curius himself felt how much you wished that I should like him. And, in fact, I took great delight in his society: there is a natural vein of humour in the man that is very attractive. I am carrying home his will sealed up with the signets of two Ciceros³ and of the prætorian staff. In their presence

coasts, of which there are many other instances, both ancient and modern.

¹ The villa near Trebula in the Sabine district. See p. 5.

² Letter CCXXVII, p. 89.

³ Quintus Cicero and his son. The object of the seals affixed was to shew that the document was the one which the testator acknowledged in the presence of witnesses to be his will. The *execution* of the will was the testator's acknowledgment, not the sealing.

he declared you heir to one-tenth, and me to one-fortieth. At Actium in Corcyra Alexis made me a splendid present. Nothing could prevent Quintus Cicero from going to see the river Thyamis. I am glad you find such delight in your little daughter, and are convinced of the doctrine as to "the natural instinct for procreation." For in the absence of this instinct there can be no natural tie uniting man and man, and, without that, social life is impossible. "Heaven prosper what we do," quoth Carneades, somewhat indecently,¹ and yet with more modesty than our countryman Lucius and Patro—who in referring everything to a selfish motive, and denying that anything is ever done for another's sake, and teaching that a man's only motive for being virtuous is to avoid evil consequences to himself, not because right is right, do not perceive that they are describing a crafty man, not a good one. But all this, I think, is discussed in those books which you encourage me by praising.²

To return to business. How anxious I was for the letter, which you said that you gave to Philoxenus! For you had told me that it contained an account of Pompey's conversation at Naples. Patro delivered it to me at Brundisium, having received it, I presume, at Corcyra. Nothing could have been more delightful. For it contained information about politics, about the great man's opinion as to my uprightness, about the kind feeling towards me which he manifested in

¹ *τύχη αγαθή*, sc. *παιδοποιῶμεν*, as Casaubon explains. The connexion of the whole of this passage with the context is obscure. It seems to be this. Atticus, who married late in life, had been wont to argue against the duty or pleasure of parentage. Cicero says, "Now you find so much delight in your little daughter you will recant your denial of the doctrine (of the Peripatetics and Academics), which makes the instinct of procreation the first law of nature and the origin of social morality" (see Polybius, vi. 6, who there points out that society begins thus: πάντων πρὸς τὰς συνουσίας ὁρμώντων κατὰ φύσιν, ἐκ δὲ τούτων παιδοποιῶας ἀποτελουμένης, κ.τ.λ.). Cicero then goes on to say that Carneades's remark as to procreation may be indecent, but is not so bad as the Epicurean doctrine which would attribute this act, like all others, to mere self-gratification, not to the natural duty of producing children. With *φυσικὴν* in the text understand *ὁρμήν*. Patro is an Epicurean philosopher, of whom we have heard before (p. 32). Lucius is L. Manlius Torquatus, the Epicurean speaker in the first book of the *de Finibus*.

² The *de Republica*.

what he said about the triumph. But what pleased me more than anything else was to learn that you had visited him to ascertain what his disposition was towards me. This, I say, gave me the greatest pleasure of all. As to the triumph, I never felt any great desire for it till Bibulus's utterly barefaced despatch, which was followed by a *supplicatio* voted in the most complimentary terms. If he had really done what he stated in his despatch, I should have rejoiced and been in favour of bestowing honour upon him. But as it is—that he, who never set foot outside the city gate as long as the enemy was west of the Euphrates,¹ should be specially honoured, and that I, on whose army he depended entirely, should not be able to obtain a similar honour, is an insult to us: I say “us,” because I include you. Accordingly, I will leave no stone unturned, and, as I hope, shall succeed. But if you had been in good health, I should already have got rid of certain difficulties. But, I hope, you will soon recover. About the debt to Numerius I am much obliged to you. I am longing to know what Hortensius has done, and what Cato is doing: the latter, it is true, has been disgracefully spiteful to me. He gave his testimony to my integrity, equity, clemency, good faith, which I did not ask for: what I did ask for he withheld. Accordingly, in his letter of congratulation, containing also every kind of promise, how Cæsar exults over the slight put upon me by Cato's signal ingratitude! Cato, too, who votes twenty days' *supplicatio* to Bibulus! Pardon me, I cannot and will not put up with this. I am itching to answer all your letters, but it is unnecessary: for I shall see you directly. However, I must just tell you about Chrysippus—for about the other fellow (a mere mechanic) I am less surprised. Yet there could not be a more rascally trick than his either. But Chrysippus—that he, whom I liked seeing and held in honour for his tincture of letters, should abandon my boy without my knowledge! I say nothing about many other things of which I am told; I say nothing of his embezzlements; but I cannot put up with his absconding. It seemed to me the most unprincipled thing in the world. Accordingly, I have availed myself of that ancient expedient of

¹ See pp. 184-185.

Drusus¹ when prætor, as it is said, in the case of a man who on being manumitted declined to take the same oaths. I denied having manumitted those men, especially as there was no one present at the time by whom their manumission could legally be maintained. Tell me what you think of that: I will abide by your opinion.² The most eloquent by far of all your letters I have not answered, that in which you speak of the dangers of the Republic. What was I to write back? I was much upset. But the Parthians prevent my being much afraid, who suddenly retreated, leaving Bibulus half dead with fright.

CCXCIII (A VII, 3)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TREBULANUM (VILLA OF PONTIUS), 9 DECEMBER

ON the 6th of December I reached Æculanum, and there read the letter from you which Philotimus delivered to me. The first glance at it gave me pleasure from seeing that it was in your own handwriting, and presently I was extraordinarily delighted at its extreme minuteness and attention to detail. To begin with, you say you disagree with Dicaearchus:³ but although I sought with the greatest eagerness, and with your approbation, not to remain more than a year in my province, this was not brought about by any exertions on my part. For let me tell you that no proposal was ever made in the senate about any of us governors of provinces, to the effect

¹ M. Livius Drusus, consul B.C. 113.

² It was customary for a slave before manumission, in some cases, to promise that on manumission he would take an oath to perform certain duties to his *patronus*. It was at present an unsettled question whether, if he afterwards declined to do so, he could be brought back to slavery. In any case, his position, if manumitted privately (*inier amicos*), was less secure than if he had been brought before the prætor and touched by his rod (*vindicta*). This difference was later on recognized by law. See Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 27.

³ Who recommended a life of action, and therefore would have approved of Cicero remaining at his post in Cilicia.

that we should remain in them beyond the term mentioned in the decree: so that I cannot now be blamed even for having been a shorter time in the province than was perhaps for the good of the public service. But the common expression "Perhaps it was all for the best" seems to come in pat, as though it were made for the case. For whether a peace can possibly be patched up, or the victory of the loyalists secured, I should wish in either case to lend a helping hand, or at any rate not to be wholly out of it. But if, on the contrary, the loyalists are beaten, I should have been beaten with them, wherever I was. Wherefore the rapidity of my return should be no cause for regret. If, again, the idea of a triumph had not been suggested to me—an idea which you also approve—you certainly would not have found me fall much short of the ideal statesman sketched in the sixth book of my Republic. Well, what would you have me do, you who have devoured those books? Indeed, even now, I shall not scruple to throw this hope aside, great as it is, if it turns out to be the better course. The two things indeed cannot be done at the same time—to canvass for a triumph, and to speak with independence on politics. But do not doubt for a moment that the more righteous course will have the preference in my eyes. For as to your opinion, that it is more advantageous, whether for my personal safety, or as enabling me to serve the state, to retain my *imperium*—that we will discuss when we meet. For it is a matter requiring serious consideration, though to a great extent I agree with you. About my loyalty to the Republic I thank you for feeling no doubt: and I also quite endorse your judgment that, considering my services to him, and considering what he has done for others, Cæsar¹ has been by no means over-liberal in his conduct to me. Your explanation of that fact also is the true one, and agrees strikingly

¹ This differs in tone from what Cicero has been saying for some time of his relations with Cæsar, to whom he owed money. Can it be a covert allusion to his treatment of Quintus after his indiscretion at Aduatuca (Cæs. B. G. vi. 36), after which Quintus seems to have had no important command? There is a total absence of allusion in the letter to the gallantry of Quintus in defending the camp (near mod. Charleroi) earlier in the year, or to his *faux pas* later. But Cæsar wrote severely to Cicero about this, who may have thought that Cæsar had not treated Quintus with generosity.

with what you say has been done in the case of Fabius and Caninius. Even if things had been different, and he had been profuse in his liberality to me, yet that "Guardian goddess of the city," whom you mention in your letter, would have compelled me to remember the inscription upon her statue,¹ and would not have allowed me to imitate Volcatius and Servius,² who satisfy you, but would have compelled me to entertain sentiments and maintain some course worthy of myself: which, indeed, I would have done, if I could, in a different way from that in which I must now act. It is for their own supremacy that these men are now contending, but it is at the risk of the constitution. For if it is the constitution that is being now defended by Cæsar, why was it not defended in his own consulship? Why was I, in whose cause the safety of the constitution was involved, not defended in the next year? Why was his *imperium* extended, or why in that particular way? Why was such a fight made that the ten tribunes should propose a law allowing him to be a candidate in his absence?³ Owing to these measures he has become so strong, that there is only one citizen with sufficient force to resist him; and I wish that *he* had refused to grant him all this power, rather than resist him now when he is so strong.

But since it has come to this pass, I will not ask, as you say:

"Where is the hull that once the Atreidæ owed?"⁴

The one hull for me will be that which has Pompey for steersman. Yes, that is just as you say. "What is to happen when the consul says: *Your vote, Marcus Tullius?*" I shall answer in a word: "I vote with Gnæus Pompeius." Nevertheless, in private, I shall exhort Pompey to keep the

¹ The statuette of Minerva, which Cicero dedicated in the Capitol before his exile. C. Fabius Maximus and C. Caninius Rebilus were Cæsar's *legati*. If he treated them badly in any way, they yet do not seem to have resented it, for they stuck by him in the Civil War, unlike others.

² L. Volcatius Tullus (consul B.C. 66) tried to steer a middle course, and refused to accompany Pompey to Epirus. Servius Sulpicius Rufus (consul B.C. 51) took much the same line as Volcatius. They both had sons serving with Cæsar in his invasion of Italy B.C. 49.

³ In B.C. 52. See pp. 204, 228.

⁴ πρὸ σκάφος τὸ τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν, altered from Eurip. *Trach.* 455.

peace. For my opinion is that there is the most imminent danger. Of course you are better informed as being in the city. But my view of the situation is this: we have to do with a man of the most consummate boldness, and in the highest state of preparation: all who have been condemned, or branded with infamy, or who deserve condemnation and infamy, are on his side; nearly all the young men; all the lowest city rabble; some influential tribunes, including Gaius Cassius; all who are overwhelmed with debt, who I find are more numerous than I thought. The only thing this cause lacks is merit: it has everything else in abundance. On our side everyone is doing everything he can to avert an appeal to arms, of which the result is in all cases uncertain, while on this particular occasion there is reason to fear its going the other way. Bibulus has quitted his province, and has left Veiento in charge of it. I hear he will be somewhat slow on his return journey. In complimenting him Cato remarked that the only people he did not envy were those whose political position admitted of no improvement, or at any rate little.

Now for private affairs: for I have pretty well answered your letters on politics, both the one you wrote in your suburban villa, and that which you wrote subsequently. So now I am coming to private affairs. Still, there is one thing more—about Cælius. So far from his affecting my opinion, I am strongly of opinion that he must himself be sorry for having changed his views.¹ But how came it that those properties of Lucceius were conveyed to him? I wonder you passed that over. As to Philotimus, I will do as you advise. But I was not expecting to have the accounts from him, which he submitted to you, but the balance which he himself, at Tusculum, wished me to enter in my day-book with my own hand, and for which he also gave me a bill in Asia in his own handwriting. If he paid the sum which he declared to you to be the amount of my debt, he would still owe me as much again, and more. But in business of this kind, if only the state of public affairs permit, I shall not henceforth expose myself to blame; nor, by heaven, was I really careless about it in former times, but my time was

¹ Cælius, bribed like Curio, had become Cæsarian.

swallowed up by a crowd of friends. Accordingly, I shall have the benefit, as you promise, of your assistance and advice, and yet shall not, I hope, be troublesome to you. You need not alarm yourself about the splints I made my staff wear. They have pulled themselves together of their own accord from admiration of my upright conduct. But no one had given me a greater surprise than the man of whom you think so meanly. He had been at the beginning, and at this day still is, excellent. But just at the moment of leaving the province he indicated to me that he had hoped for something. He did not, however, cling to the idea, upon which he had allowed his mind to dwell for a time, but quickly returned to his better self, and being much affected by the extremely high honours bestowed on him by me, he looked upon them as more valuable than any money. I have received his will from Curius, and am bringing it with me. I am informed of the legacies Hortensius has to pay. I am now eager to know the man's position, and what properties he is putting up to auction. For I don't know why, since Cælius has monopolized the Porta Flumentana,¹ I should not make myself owner of Puteoli.

Now for the word *Piræa*: in using it I exposed myself to severer criticism for writing *Peiræa* instead of *Piræum*—which is the form adopted by all our countrymen—than for adding an *in*. For I did not prefix the preposition to the word as the name of a town, but of a locality: and, after all, our friend Dionysius, and Nicias of Cos, who is with me, did not consider the *Piræus* to be a town. But I will see to it. The fact is that, if I have made a mistake, it is in not speaking of it as a town, but as a place; and for having followed, I don't say Cæcilius (*mane ut ex portu in Piræum*), for he is a poor authority for Latinity, but Terence, whose plays, owing to the elegance of their language, were thought to be written by Lælius. He says, "Heri aliquot adulescentuli coimus *in Piræum*"; and also, "Mercator hoc addebat... captam *e Sunio*."² Now if we choose to consider *demes* to be towns, Sunium is as much a town as *Piræus*. But since you are by way of being a grammarian,

¹ Near which Cælius had bought the property of Luccæius.

² *Eun.* 539, 115.

you will relieve me of much vexation if you solve me this knotty point. *He*¹ sends me courteous letters. Balbus does the same for him. I am resolved not to swerve a finger's breadth from the most absolute loyalty in any direction. But you know the balance he has against me. Do you think, then, that some one will twit me with it, if I am lukewarm in opposition, or that he will demand repayment if I am over-vigorous? What solution can you find to this? "Pay him," you say. Well, then, I will borrow from Cælius. However, pray turn this matter over in your mind. For I imagine, if I have at any time made a fine speech in defence of the constitution, that your Tartessian² friend will say to me as I am leaving the house, "Be so good as to direct the money to be paid." What else is there to say? Why, this. My son-in-law makes himself very agreeable to me, to Tullia, and to Terentia. He has any amount whether of ability or culture. We must be content. Other points in his character, with which you are acquainted, must be tolerated. For you know the men whom we have [rejected³], who all, except the one about whom we negotiated through you,⁴ think that I am making money. For no one will advance them any on their own credit. But of this when we meet; for it is a subject for a long talk. My hope of Tiro's recovery is centred on Manius Curius, to whom I said in a letter that you will be very grateful to him.

Pontius's Villa at Trebula, 9 December.

¹ Cæsar.

² Balbus, a native of Gades (Tartessus).

³ The reading is very doubtful. There is no authority for the meaning assigned by Tyrrell for *aperuerimus*. Other suggestions are *avertimus*, *repudiarimus*.

⁴ Perhaps Ti. Claudius Nero, whom Cicero preferred as a son-in-law. See pp. 97, 190.

CCXCIV (A VII, 4)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

(FORMLÆ, 11 DECEMBER)

DIONYSIUS was burning with desire to be with you, and I have accordingly sent him, but, by Hercules, with great reluctance. However, I was obliged to give way. I have found him, indeed, both a good scholar (which I knew before) and a man of high character, very obliging, careful too of my reputation, honest, and—not to give him only the praise that suits a freedman—a thoroughly good man.

I saw Pompey on the 10th of December: we were together perhaps two hours. He seemed to me to be much delighted at my return: urged me to claim a triumph: undertook to do his part: warned me not to enter the senate until I had gained my object, for fear of alienating some tribune by the speeches I delivered. Need I say more? In cordiality of mere language nothing could have been more explicit. On the political situation, however, the tone of his remarks assumed the existence of downright war. He held out no hope of maintaining peace: "he had felt before that Cæsar was alienated from him, he had recently become quite sure of it. Hirtius, Cæsar's most intimate friend, had been in the neighbourhood, but had not called on him. Moreover, Hirtius having arrived in the evening of the 6th of December, and Balbus having arranged to visit Scipio¹ on the 7th, before daybreak, Hirtius started to rejoin Cæsar late in the previous night." This seemed to him to be a clear "symptom"² of alienation. In short, nothing else consoles me but the opinion that the man, to whom even his enemies have assigned a second consulship, and fortune has given supreme power, will not be so mad as to put these advantages in danger. But if he once begins to run amuck, I verily have many fears which I do not venture to put into writing. However, as the matter stands at present, I think of approaching the city on the 3rd of January.

¹ Pompey's father-in-law.² τεκμηριῶδες.

CCXCV (A VII, 5)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

(FORMIÆ, DECEMBER)

I HAVE received several letters from you at the same time, and though I am in receipt of later news from visitors, they yet gave me much pleasure. For they shewed your zeal and kindness. I am disturbed by your illness, and Pilia's having fallen ill of the same complaint must, I think, cause you all the more anxiety. So take care, both of you, to get well. I see that you are interested about Tiro. Though he is serviceable to me in a thousand ways, when he is well, in every department of my business and my studies, yet my anxiety for his recovery is founded on his own kindness and high character, rather than on my convenience. Philogenes never said a word to me about Luscenius. As to other matters, you have Dionysius with you. I wonder that your sister has not come to Arcanum.¹ I am glad you approve my decision as to Chrysippus.² I have no intention of going to Tusculum at such a time as this. It is out of the way for people coming to meet me, and has other disadvantages. But from Formiæ I mean to go to Tarracina on the 29th of December. Thence to Pomptina Summa,³ thence to Pompey's Alban villa, and so to the city on the 3rd, my birthday. The political situation gives me greater terror every day. For the loyalists are not, as people think, united. How many Roman knights, how many senators, have I seen prepared to inveigh against the whole policy, and especially the progress through Italy now being made by Pompey.⁴ What we want is peace. From a victory,

¹ A villa belonging to Quintus.

² See p. 216.

³ Perhaps the head of the canal (Tre Ponti) which ended near Tarracina. In *Fam.* vii. 18, Cicero writes from "Pomptinum," a villa of M. Æmilius Philemo, and it is perhaps here that he means to stay.

⁴ Pompey was already commissioned by the consul Marcellus to visit the *municipia* and levy troops. Curio had in vain tried to induce the senate to send an order round that he was not to be obeyed (Appian, *B. C.* ii. 31).

among many evil results, one, at any rate, will be the rise of a tyrant. But we will talk of this together before long. At present I have absolutely nothing to write to you about—either in politics (for neither of us knows more than the other) or in domestic affairs, which are equally known to us both. The only thing left is to jest, if this personage will allow us. For I am one who thinks it more expedient to yield to his demands than to fight. For it is too late in the day to be resisting a man, whom we have been nursing up against ourselves these ten years past. “What will be your view, then?” say you. None, of course, except in accordance with yours: nor shall I express any till I have accomplished or laid aside my own affair of the triumph. So take care of your health. Do at length shake off your quartan fever by exercising the prudence in which no one surpasses you.

CCXCVI (A VII, 6)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

(FORMLÆ, DECEMBER)

I HAVE absolutely nothing to say to you. You know everything, nor can I expect any fresh news from you. Let me, then, merely maintain my old habit of never letting anyone going to you depart without a letter. At the political situation I am thoroughly alarmed, and up to now I have found hardly anyone not convinced that it would be better to yield to Cæsar's demand than to fight. That demand, it is true, shameless as it is, is more serious than we thought. But why begin resisting him *now*?

“For naught more dreadful is upon us now”¹

than when we voted his additional five years, or when we

¹ Homer, *Od.* xii. 209:

οὐ μὲν δὴ τὸδε μείζον ἐπὶ κακὸν ἢ ὅτε Κέκλωψ
εἶλει ἐνὶ σπηΐ γλαφυρῷ κρατερῆφι βίηφι.

Cicero means that they have no more reason to resist Cæsar than before,

allowed his being a candidate in his absence: for we did not, I presume, give him arms then, that we might have a well-furnished enemy to fight with now! You will say, "What, then, will be your view?" Not the one I shall express. For my real view will be "anything rather than fight": I shall *say* exactly what Pompey does. And that I shall do from no abject cowardice: but once more it is a very serious evil to the constitution, and less allowable perhaps in my case than in that of others, that in matters of such importance I should differ from Pompey.

CCXCVII (A VII, 7)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

(FORMIÆ, DECEMBER)

"DIONYSIUS, a most excellent fellow—as I, too, have reason to know—and also a very good scholar and warmly devoted to you, arrived in Rome on the 16th of January and delivered me a letter from you." Those are your exact words about Dionysius in your letter. You don't add, "and he expressed his gratitude to you." And yet he certainly ought to have done so, and, if he had, you are always so good-natured that you would have added it to your sentence. However, any palinode in regard to him is made impossible for me, owing to the character I gave him in my last letter. Let him, then, pass for an excellent man. I am obliged to him for one thing at least—he has given me this opportunity also of knowing him thoroughly. Philogenes was quite correct in what he wrote to you: for he has paid the money due. I wished him to have the use of the money as long as he legally could; accordingly, he has kept it four-

for his claim to keep his province is not more unconstitutional than his former claims. "We can't suppose that our object in yielding the old demands was to arm him against ourselves!" *Nisi forte* is here practically a negative; it introduces an impossible supposition.

teen months. I hope Pomptinus is recovering, and as to having entered the city, as you say in your letter, I feel somewhat anxious as to what he means by it. For he would not have done so except for some weighty reason. As the 2nd of January is the *Compitalia*,¹ I don't want to arrive at Pompey's Alban villa on that day, for fear of inconveniencing his servants. I shall do so, therefore, on the 3rd, and go thence to the city on the 4th. I don't know on what day your quartan fit is due; but I am very unwilling that you should be disturbed to the detriment of your health. As to my triumph, unless Cæsar has been secretly intriguing by means of the tribunes who are in his interest, everything else appears to be going smoothly. My mind, however, is supremely calm, and regards the whole thing with utter indifference: the more so that I am told by many that Pompey and his council have determined to send me to Sicily on the ground of my having *imperium*. That is worthy of Abdera!² For neither has the senate decreed nor the people ordered me to have *imperium* in Sicily. But if the state delegates this to Pompey, why should he send me rather than some unofficial person? So, if the possession of this *imperium* is going to be a nuisance to me, I shall avail myself of the first city gate I come to.³ For as to what you say, that my coming is awaited with astonishing interest, and that none of the loyalists, or even the semi-loyalists, have any doubt about what I am likely to do—I don't understand whom you mean by the "loyalists"—I know of none—that is to say, no *class* of such men: for, of course, there are individuals who are loyalists; but when it is a case of political divisions, what we have to look for is classes and sets of loyalists. Do you regard the senate as loyalist, when it is owing to it that the provinces have no governors with *imperium*? For Curio would never have held out if negotiations with him had been set on foot—a measure which the senate refused to adopt, with the result that no successor was named to Cæsar. Or the *publicani*, who, having never been staunch, are now

¹ The *Compitalia* were always about this time, though the exact day varied. At them slaves took part in the family festival. It was therefore like arriving on Christmas Day to come to a house then.

² Renowned for the stupidity of its inhabitants.

³ *I.e.*, get rid of my *imperium* by entering the city.

warmly in favour of Cæsar? Or the financiers or the farmers, whose chief interest is peace? Unless you can suppose such men to dread being under royal rule, who have never declined it, so long only as they were left in peace and quiet. Well then! Do I approve of votes being taken for a man who is retaining an army beyond the legal day? For my part, I say *no*; nor in his absence either. But when the former was granted him, so was the latter.¹ "Why, do you approve of the ten years' grant, and of the way in which the law was carried?" If I do, then I approve of my own banishment, and the loss of the Campanian land, and of the adoption of a patrician by a plebeian, of a Gaditanian by a Mytilenean;² I approve of the wealth of Labienus and Mamurra, of the pleasure-grounds and Tusculan villa of Balbus. But the fountain-head of all these things is the same. We should have resisted him when he was weak, and that would have been easy. Now we are confronted by eleven legions, cavalry at his desire, the Transpadani,³ the city rabble, all these tribunes, a rising generation corrupted as we see, a leader of such influence and audacity. With such a man we must either fight a pitched battle, or admit his candidature in virtue of the law. "Fight," say you, "rather than be a slave." To what end? To be proscribed, if beaten: to be a slave after all, if victorious? "What do you mean to do, then?" say you. Just what animals do, who when scattered follow the flocks of their own kind. As an ox follows a herd, so shall I follow the loyalists or whoever are said to be loyalists, even if they take a disastrous course. What the best course is in this unfortunate dilemma I see clearly. For no one can be certain of the result when once we come to fighting: but everyone is certain that, if the loyalists are beaten, this man will not be more merciful than Cinna in the massacre of the nobility, nor less rapacious than Sulla in confiscating the property of the rich. I have

¹ When he was given his five extra years, *i.e.*, up to March, B.C. 48, the right of standing for the consulship was practically given him also.

² Of Balbus by Theophanes of Mitylene. The latter was a friend of Pompey, who had given him *civitas*. He adopted Balbus (Cæsar's friend) when Pompey and Cæsar were on good terms.

³ Because Cæsar promised them full citizenship instead of their existing *Latinitas*, a promise which he promptly fulfilled in B.C. 48.

been talking politics with you all this time, and I would have gone on doing so, had not my lamp failed me. The upshot is this: "*Your vote, M. Tullius!*" "I vote with Gnæus Pompeius: that is, with Titus Pomponius." Pray give my regards to Alexis, that very accomplished boy, unless perchance he has become a man during my absence, for he seemed on the point of doing so.

CCXCVIII (A VII, 8)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

(FORMIÆ, 26 DECEMBER)

WHAT need was there to speak so strongly about Dionysius? Wouldn't the slightest hint from you have been enough for me? The fact is, your silence had roused all the more suspicion in me, first because your usual custom is to cement friendship by testifying to mutual goodwill, and secondly because I was told that he had spoken to others in a different tone.¹ However, I am quite convinced that the truth is as you say. Accordingly, my feelings towards him are what you wish them to be. The day on which your fit was due I had noted for myself, from a letter which you wrote in the early stages of your feverish attack, and I had calculated that, as things are, you could come to the Alban villa to meet me on the 3rd of January without inconvenience. But pray do nothing to injure your health. For what does one day or another matter? I see that by Livia's will Dolabella, takes a third between himself and two others,² but is ordered to change his name. Here's a problem in politics for you³—can a young man of rank properly change his name in accordance with a woman's will? We shall be able to solve

¹ See p. 226.

² That is, he took a third of a third, *i.e.*, one-ninth of the whole estate. We don't know who Livia was, and there is no evidence of Dolabella having changed his name. He therefore probably renounced the legacy.

³ πολιτικόν σκέμμα.

that question in a more scientific spirit,¹ when we know to about how much a third of a third amounts.

What you thought would be the case—that I should see Pompey before arriving at Rome—has happened. For he caught me up near the Lavernium on the 25th. We came together to Formiæ, and from two o'clock till evening had a private conversation. As to your question whether there is any hope of making peace, as far as I could gather from a long and exhaustive discourse of Pompey's, he hasn't even the wish for it. His view is this: if *he* becomes consul, even after dismissing his army, there will be a *bouleversement* of the constitution.² Besides, he thinks that when Cæsar is told that preparations against him are being pushed on energetically, he will throw aside the consulship for this year and prefer retaining his army and province. But if Cæsar were to act such a mad part, he entertained a low opinion of his power, and felt confident in his own and the state's resources. The long and the short of it was that, although "intestinal war"³ was often in my thoughts, yet I felt my anxiety removed while I listened to a man of courage, military skill, and supreme influence, discoursing like a statesman on the dangers of a mock peace. Moreover, we had in our hands the speech of Antony, delivered on the 21st of December, which contained an invective against Pompey, beginning from his boyhood, a complaint as to those who had been condemned, and a threat of armed intervention. On reading this Pompey remarked, "What do you think Cæsar himself will do, if he obtains supreme power in the state, when his quæstor—a man of no influence or wealth—dares to talk like that?"⁴ In short, he appeared to me not

¹ φιλοσοφώτερον διεκρινήσομεν.

² σύγχυσιν τῆς πολιτείας, perhaps *confusion* might represent it, but it does not really represent Pompey's view.

³ ξυνὸς ἑννάλιος (Hom. *Il.* xviii. 309).

⁴ M. Antonius had just become tribune (10th December, B.C. 50), but he had been quæstor in Gaul in B.C. 52, and seems to have been in high favour with Cæsar, who had been exerting himself to get him elected augur. The "condemned" are the victims of Pompey's law on bribery of B.C. 52 (see vol. i., p. 366). The Cæsarians always maintained that these men had been in many cases unfairly condemned, and one of the first measures after Cæsar's success was their recall.

merely not to desire the peace you talk of, but even to fear it. However, he is, I think, somewhat shaken in his idea of abandoning the city by the scandal it would cause.¹ My chief vexation is that I must pay the money to Cæsar, and devote what I had provided for the expenses of my triumph to that. For it is "an ugly business to owe money to a political opponent." But this and much besides when we meet.

CCXCIX (A VII, 9)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

(FORMIÆ, 27 DECEMBER)

"AM I to receive," quoth you, "a letter from you every single day?" Yes! if I find anyone to give it to, every day. "But you are all but here in person." Well, when I have arrived, I will stop writing. I see that one of your letters has not reached me. While my friend L. Quintius was conveying it, he was wounded and robbed near the tomb of Basilus.² Please consider, therefore, whether there was anything in it which I ought to know, and at the same time "solve this strictly political problem." Seeing that it is necessary, EITHER that Cæsar should be allowed to stand for the consulship while he still holds his army (whether by the favour of senate or tribunes); OR that Cæsar should be persuaded to hand over his province and army, and so become consul; OR, if he cannot be persuaded to do so, that the election should be held without admitting his name as candidate; OR, if he employs tribunes to prevent that, and yet makes no warlike move, that there must be an *interregnum*; OR, if on the ground of his legal candidateship having been ignored he moves up his army, that we must fight him with arms, while he must begin hostilities either at

¹ The text is very uncertain here. I read *invidia* (MS. f) *relinquenda urbis*.

² On the *via Appia*. Though close to the city, it was a place notorious for highway robberies, according to Asconius, § 50.

once before we are prepared, or as soon as his friends have their demand for having him recognized as a candidate at the election refused: but that he will either have the one excuse for an appeal to arms (that his candidature is ignored), or will have an additional one, if it chances that some tribune, when vetoing the senate or stirring up the people, is censured, or hampered by a senatorial decree, or forcibly removed, or driven out of the city, or flies to him, alleging that he has been so driven out: *SEEING* finally, that, if war is once begun, we must either defend the city, or abandon it and try to cut him off from supplies and other resources: consider, I say, which of these evils, some one of which we must confront, you think the least.

You will no doubt say "to persuade him to hand over his army, and so become consul." Well, certainly against this proposal, supposing him to submit so far, nothing can be said: and, since he doesn't succeed in getting his candidature acknowledged while he still retains his army, I wonder he does not do so. For us, however, as certain persons think, nothing is more to be dreaded than his becoming consul. "But I would prefer his being consul on these terms to his being so with an army," you will say. Certainly. But even on "these terms," I tell you, there is one who thinks it a grave evil. Nor is there any remedy against it: we must submit if he insists upon it. Imagine him consul a second time after our experience of his former consulship! "Why, comparatively weak as he was then," you say, "he was more powerful than the whole state." What, then, do you think will be the case now? Moreover, if he is consul, Pompey is resolved to be in Spain. What a sad state of things, when the very worst alternative is just the one which cannot be rejected, and the one which, if he adopts it, would at once secure him the highest favour with all the loyalists!

Let us, then, put this out of the question. They say that he cannot be induced to accept it. Which is the worst of the other alternatives? Why, to concede to him what, according to the same authority, is his most impudent demand. For could anything be more impudent? "You have held a province for ten years, a time not granted you by the senate, but assumed by yourself with the help of violence and sedition: this period—not assigned by the law, but by

your own caprice—has passed. Let us, however, grant that it was by the law: a decree is made for naming your successor: you cry halt and say, "Take my candidature into consideration." Rather, do you take us into consideration.¹ Are you to have an army longer than the vote of the people gave it you? "You must fight unless you grant it." Certainly—to quote Pompey again—and with a fair prospect either of conquering or of dying free men. Moreover, if fight we must, the time depends on chance, the plan on circumstances. Therefore I do not worry you on that point. In regard to what I have said, pray make any suggestion that occurs to you: for my part, I am on the rack day and night.

CCC (F XVI, II)

In this year the Civil War began in earnest as soon as Cæsar crossed the Rubicon. Directly the news arrived Pompey left Rome to gather soldiers stationed in winter quarters and on garrison duty in various parts of Italy, and Italy itself was portioned out into districts for defence under various magistrates and senators. But by the 18th of March Pompey had quitted Italy, never to return, with the two consuls and other magistrates; and before the end of the month Cæsar had arrived at Rome, left it in charge of the prætor Lepidus, and Italy in charge of the tribune Antony, specially invested with prætorian powers, and had gone to besiege Marseilles and to fight Pompey's legates in Spain. Cicero, who had had the district of Capua assigned to him, had nothing left but to keep as quiet as he could in his country houses. But his conscience left him no peace until he had joined Pompey in Greece, though he was fully aware of the unsatisfactory nature of the party which had accompanied him there. After long hesitation, he at last made up his mind, early in June, to join Pompey's camp. After his arrival there we have no more letters this year.

¹ *Habere rationem* is here used in a double sense: (1) to allow votes being taken for (technical); (2) to have consideration for, "to take into account" (common).

TO TIRO (AT PATRÆ)

OUTSIDE ROME, 12 JANUARY

CICERO and his son, Terentia, Tullia, Quintus and his son, send warm greetings to Tiro. Though I miss your ever-ready help at every turn, yet it is not for my sake so much as for yours that I grieve at your illness. But now that the violence of your disease has abated so far as to become a quartan fever—for so Curius writes me word—I hope that with care you will soon become stronger. Only be sure—as becomes a man of your good sense—to think of nothing for the present except how to get well in the best possible way. I know how your regret at being absent worries you, but all difficulties will disappear, if you get well. I would not have you hurry, for fear of your suffering from sea-sickness in your weak state, and finding a winter voyage dangerous. I arrived at the city walls on the 4th of January. Nothing could be more complimentary than the procession that came out to meet me; but I found things in a blaze of civil discord, or rather civil war. I desired to find a cure for this, and, as I think, could have done so; but I was hindered by the passions of particular persons, for on both sides there are those who desire to fight. The long and short of it is that Cæsar himself—once our friend—has sent the senate a menacing and offensive despatch,¹ and is so insolent as to retain his army and province in spite of the senate, and my old friend Curio is backing him up. Farthermore, our friend Antonius and Q. Cassius, having been expelled from the house, though without any violence, left town with Curio to join Cæsar, directly the senate had passed the decree ordering “consuls, prætors, tribunes, and us proconsuls to see that the Republic received no damage.”² Never has the state been in greater danger: never have disloyal citizens had a

¹ Cæsar (*B. C. i. 5*) describes it as containing demands of “the mildest possible kind”—*lenissima postulata*. It was brought by Curio, who, going out of office on the 10th December, had joined Cæsar at Ravenna.

² This *senatus consultum ultimum* was passed on the 7th of January,

better prepared leader. On the whole, however, preparations are being pushed on with very great activity on our side also. This is being done by the influence and energy of our friend Pompey, who now, when it is too late, begins to fear Cæsar. In spite of these exciting incidents, a full meeting of the senate clamoured for a triumph being granted me: but the consul Lentulus, in order to enhance his service to me, said that as soon as he had taken the measures necessary for the public safety, he would bring forward a motion on the subject. I do nothing in a spirit of selfish ambition, and consequently my influence is all the greater. Italy has been marked out into districts, shewing for what part each of us is to be responsible. I have taken Capua. That is all I wanted to tell you. Again and again I urge you to take care of your health, and to write to me as often as you have anyone to whom to give a letter. Good-bye, good-bye

12 January.

CCCI (F V, 20)

TO MESCINIUS RUFUS¹

OUTSIDE ROME (JANUARY)

I WOULD have done my very best to meet you, if you had chosen to come to the place arranged. Wherefore, although from regard to my convenience you were unwilling to disturb me, I should wish you to believe that, if you had sent me word, I should have preferred your wish to my own con-

the *fifth* meeting of the senate—two comitial days, 3rd and 4th, preventing a meeting being held (Cæsar, *B. C. i. 5*). Cicero's assertion that no violence was done to Cassius and Antony seems to be confirmed by Cæsar's account, who only says that after this decree *profugiunt statim ex urbe tr. pl.* If any violence had been used, he would certainly have mentioned it as strengthening his case. In the decree the (unusual) mention of *proconsuls* was in order to include Pompey and Cicero.

¹ Mescinius Rufus had been quæstor in Cilicia during Cicero's government (see p. 167), and was responsible, in part at least, for the accounts.

venience. In reply to your letter, I should have been able to write to you on the details more conveniently, if my secretary, M. Tullius, had been with me. He, I feel certain, at any rate in making up the accounts—I cannot speak of other things—did not knowingly do anything adverse to your interest or your reputation. And in the next place I can assure you that, if the old rule and ancient custom as to giving in accounts had been in force, I should never have given them in until I had first checked and made them up with you, as our close official connexion demanded. What I should have done outside Rome, had the old custom remained in force, that I did in the province, because, by the Julian law, it was necessary to leave accounts in the province and to give in a verbatim copy of them at the treasury. I did not do this with a view of forcing you to adopt my calculation; but I put a great confidence in you, and shall never be sorry that I did so. For I handed over my secretary to your entire control—of whom I now see that you entertain suspicions—and you joined your brother M. Mindius with him in the business. The accounts were made up, in my absence, under your eye, to which I did nothing whatever beyond reading them. When I received a copy from my secretary, I regarded it as received from your brother. If that was a compliment, I could not pay you a greater one: if it was an instance of confidence, I have shewn you almost more than I shewed myself: if my duty had been to see that nothing was entered in them that was not for your honour and advantage, there was no one to whom I could have intrusted them in preference to the man to whom I did do so. At any rate, I merely obeyed the law by depositing copies of the accounts made up and audited in two cities, Laodicea and Apamea, which I regarded as the two chief cities (for it had to be the *chief* cities). So then to this point my first reply is that, though for good and sufficient reasons I have made haste to give in the accounts at the treasury, yet I should have waited for you, had I not considered that depositing the accounts in the province was tantamount to giving them in at the treasury.¹

¹ Because the two copies, having been deposited in the provincial

As to what you say of Volusius, that has nothing to do with the accounts. I have been advised by experts—among them by C Camillus, the best lawyer of the day and a very kind friend of mine—that the debt (the amount was not 3,000 sester tia, as you say, but 1,900) could not be transferred from Valerius to Volusius, and that the sureties of Valerius were liable. For a sum of money had been paid us in the name of Valerius as purchaser: the balance I entered in the accounts.¹ But your proposal robs me of the fruit of my liberality, of my activity, and even (what, after all, I do not much care about) of a moderate amount of good sense: of my liberality, because you prefer to suppose my legate and my prefect, Q. Lepta, to have been relieved from a most serious calamity by the good offices of my secretary rather than of myself, and that though they ought never to have been made liable: of my activity, because you suppose that in regard to so important a duty, I may say so grave a danger, I neither knew anything nor took any thought—that my secretary made any entry he chose without even going through the form of reading it over to me: of my good sense, because you think that an arrangement, which had been thought out by me with no little acuteness, had been practically not thought of at all. The fact of the matter is that the release of Volusius was my own design, and I also formed the plan for relieving the securities of Valerius and Tit. Marius himself from so heavy a loss. And this scheme has not only the approval of everybody, but their warm commendation, and, if you wish to know the real truth, I perceived that my secretary was the one person who did not like it. But it was my view that, so long as the People got its own, a good man should consult for the interests of so large a number—whether of friends or fellow citizens. As regards Lucceius, the

towns, could not be altered, and the copy in the treasury was bound to be a verbatim copy of them.

¹ Apparently Cicero, having satisfied himself that the proportion of the 1,900 sester tia paid by Valerius was sufficient to save the treasury from loss, entered the balance on the debit side as “remitted” or “returned” on his authority as proconsul. We cannot tell what the debt was, perhaps for some contract, for which Volusius had bid too high, and for which Valerius (a banker) gave securities, and because he became thereby the purchaser or contractor (*manceps*) was liable to the state for the whole.

arrangement come to, at the suggestion of Pompey, was that the money should be deposited in a temple. I acknowledged that as having been done on my order. This money Pompey has employed, as Sestius did that deposited by you. But this, I am aware, does not affect you. I should have been sorry to have omitted to record your having deposited the money in the temple on my order, had not that sum been attested by records of the most solemn and precise nature—stating to whom it was paid, by what decree of the senate, and in virtue of what written order from you and from myself it had been handed over to P. Sestius.¹ Seeing that these facts had been put on record in so many ways, that a mistake in regard to them was impossible, I did not make an entry, which after all had no reference to you. However, I wish now I had made the entry, since I see that you regret its not having been done.

I quite agree as to your being obliged, as you say, to enter this transaction, and your balance will not differ at all from mine by your doing so. You may add also, "on my authority," which, though I did not add it, I have no reason for denying, nor should deny, had there been any such reason, and had you declined to add it. Again, as to the sum of 900,000 sesterces: that, at any rate, was entered in accordance with your own or your brother's wishes. However, if there is any entry (for the posting of the public

¹ The two points Cicero answers are: (1) Rufus complained of an item in the accounts, in which Valerius had been entered as a debtor to the state, and also as having discharged the debt, though he had not paid the full sum. This Cicero explains that he did on professional advice, as Valerius, not Volusius, was liable: he had remitted this balance, because the state did not lose anything. (2) Rufus complains that Cicero made no entry of a certain sum, as to which there was a dispute, having been deposited by him in a temple. Cicero says he might have done so, but that, after all, Rufus was protected by a number of formal receipts and other documents. We have heard of disputed money being put in a temple before (p. 131). Pompey and Sestius (Cicero's successor in Cilicia) took this money in virtue of a senatorial decree passed on the 7th of January, giving Pompey a large number of men and complete command of all public money (App. B. C. ii. 34; Dio, 41, 3). It was thus that Cæsar was justified in regarding what he found in the hands of Pompeian officers as public money (see Cæs. B. C. i. 23). The senate having passed this vote, Rufus and Cicero gave their orders or cheque upon the temple to pay the money to Pompey.

ledger is not completed) which I can correct even now in my accounts, I must consider—since I have not taken advantage of the decree of the senate—what grace the laws allow me.¹ Anyhow, you were not bound to make the entry you have made in regard to the amount collected tally with my accounts,² unless I am mistaken—for there are others with more technical knowledge than myself. But pray do not doubt my doing everything that I think to be for your interests or in accordance with your wish, if I possibly can.

As to what you say about the list for good-service rewards, you must know that I have returned the names of my military tribunes and prefects, and the members of the staff—at least of my own staff.³ In this matter, indeed, I made a mistake. I thought that the time allowed me for giving in their names was unlimited: I was afterwards informed that it had to be done within thirty days of handing in my accounts. I am very sorry that this list for good-service rewards was not reserved to enhance your credit rather than mine, since I have no promotion to work for. However, in regard to the centurions and the subalterns of the military tribunes, nothing has yet been done, for good-service rewards of that class have no time limit by law.

The last item is the 100,000 sesterces, in regard to which I remember receiving a letter from you from Myrina acknowledging the mistake to be not mine, but yours. The mistake—if mistake it was—appeared to have originated with your brother and Tullius. But since it could not be corrected—for I had already deposited my accounts and quitted my province—I believe I answered you as politely

¹ It appears that the senate had granted him an extension of time as to giving in his accounts, but that, having not taken advantage of that decree, he can only do what the law dictates as to sending in corrections. But the reading and meaning of *de logeo* is very uncertain.

² The reading and meaning are alike uncertain. I suppose it to refer to the sum of money just mentioned, as to the entry of which in Cicero's accounts Rufus found some technical objection. Cicero says, "Well, you and your brother agreed as to the item: and in your office as quaestor you were responsible for the account of the amount actually got in, and were not bound to copy my entry in your own accounts."

³ Not *yours* also. The *contubernales* were young men serving with a magistrate as volunteers, for the sake of experience.

as the warmth of my feelings dictated and my financial outlook at the time allowed.¹ But I did not either then consider that I was bound by the polite tone of my letter, nor do I now think that I was bound to have regarded your letter about the 100 sester tia in the light in which men regard dunning letters received in times like these. At the same time you ought to take this into consideration. The whole sum of money legally coming to me I deposited with the *publicani* at Ephesus. It amounted to 2,200,000 sesterces (about £17,600). The whole of it has been appropriated by Pompey. Whether I submit to that with patience or the reverse, you at least ought to take the loss of 100 sester tia (about £800) with equanimity, and to reckon that just so much the less has come into your pocket from your own allowances or my liberality. But even if you had debited me with this 100 sester tia, yet your kindness and affection for me is such that you would not wish to distraiⁿ on me at such a time as this: for, however much I wished the money paid in cash, I have not the wherewithal. But regard this as a joke, just as I do what you said. However, as soon as Tullius comes back from the country, I will send him to you, if you think that will be any good. I have no reason for wishing this letter not to be torn up.²

CCCII (A VII, 10)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

OUTSIDE THE WALLS OF ROME, 17 JANUARY

I HAVE suddenly resolved to leave town before daybreak, to avoid all gazing and gossip, especially with my bay-decked

¹ *I.e.*, considering that I was saving all I could for my triumph, and that I could ill afford to lose so much (about £800).

² *Estimationem accipere, i.e.*, to take property in satisfaction of a debt, on a fixed valuation.

³ Cicero seems to mean that if Rufus thinks the letter against his interest, he is at liberty to destroy it, and so have a freer hand in dealing with his secretary Tullius.

lictors.¹ For the rest, I don't know, by heaven, what to do now or in the future: such is the agitation into which I am thrown by the infatuation of our party's most insane decision. But what counsel should I offer you, you whose advice I am myself anxious to receive? What plan our Gnæus has adopted, or is adopting, I don't know: as yet he is cooped up in the towns and in a state of lethargy. If he makes a stand in Italy, we shall all be together: if he abandons it, I shall have to reconsider the matter. Up to now, unless I am out of my senses, his proceedings are all fatuous and rash. Yes, pray write to me frequently just anything that comes into your head.

CCCIH (A VII, II)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

(IN CAMPANIA) 19 JANUARY

WHAT in the world does it mean? What is going on? I am quite in the dark. "We are in occupation of Cingulum," says some one; "we have lost Ancona." "Labienus has abandoned Cæsar." Are we talking of an *imperator* of the Roman people, or of a Hannibal? Madman! Miserable wretch, that has never seen even a shadow of virtue! And he says that he is doing all this "to support his honour"! How can there be any "honour" where there is no moral right? Can it be morally right to have an army without commission from the state? To seize cities inhabited by one's fellow citizens, as a means of attacking one's own country? To be contriving abolition of debts, restoration of exiles, hundreds of other crimes

¹ Pompey left Rome, it appears, on the 7th or 8th. The consuls and other magistrates of his party remained in town, but on hearing of Cæsar's advance (about the 17th) they hurriedly quitted Rome (Cæs. B. C. i. 14). Cæsar says that this took place on a false alarm on the day after Pompey's leaving Rome: but it is apparent from this letter that Pompey had started some time before.

"For royalty, the first of things divine"?¹

Let him keep his fortune, and welcome! By heaven, I would rather have one hour of basking in your free² sun than all the royalties of that kind in the world, or rather I would die a thousand times sooner than once take an idea of that sort into my mind: "What if you should take the fancy?" say you. Well, everyone's wishes are free: but I regard the mere wish as a greater misfortune than the cross. There is one greater misfortune still—to attain such a wish. But enough of this. It is a kind of relief to philosophize thus much in the midst of such troubles. To return to our friend. In the name of fortune, what do *you* think of Pompey's plan? I mean in abandoning the city? For *I* am at a loss to explain it. Nothing, again, could be more irrational. Do you mean to abandon the city? Then you would have done the same if the Gauls were upon us. "The Republic," says he, "does not depend on brick and mortar." No, but it does depend on altars and hearths. "Themistocles did the same." Yes, for one city was incapable of resisting the flood of the whole East. But Pericles did not so act, about fifty years afterwards, for he abandoned everything except the walls. Our own countrymen in the old times held the citadel, though the rest of the city was taken:

"Such deeds of fame—so poets told—
Our fathers wrought in days of old."³

On the other hand, I gather from the indignation aroused in the *municipia*, and the conversation of those whom I meet, that this plan is likely to prove successful in a way. There is an extraordinary outcry—I don't know what people are saying with you, but pray let me know—at the city being without magistrates or senate. In fact, there is a wonderfully strong feeling at Pompey's being in flight. Indeed, the point of view is quite changed: people are now for

¹ τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὥστ' ἔχειν τυραννίδα (Eurip. *Phan.* 509).

² *Lucrativo*, a very doubtful word here; it has been emended in various ways, *Lucretino* ("near Lucretilis"), *Lucretiano*, etc.

³ οὕτω που τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπενθόμεθα κλέα ἀνδρῶν (Hom. *Il.* ix. 524).

making no concessions to Cæsar. Expound to me what all this means. My department is a very quiet one. For Pompey wishes me to be a kind of "president" of the whole of this Campanian sea-coast, to superintend the levy, and hold the chief command. Accordingly, I meditate being continually on the move. I think you must see by this time what Cæsar's aim, what the disposition of the people, and the general position of affairs are. Pray write and tell me about them, and that, too, as often as possible, since they are continually shifting. For I find relief both in writing to you and in reading your letters.

CCCIV (A VII, 12)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 22 JANUARY

As yet I have received only one letter from you dated the 19th, and in it you indicated that you had written another, which I have not received. But I beg you to write as often as possible, not only whatever you know or have been told, but also what you suspect, and above all what you think I ought to do or not to do. You ask me to be sure to let you know what Pompey is doing: I don't think he knows himself, certainly none of us do. I saw the consul Lentulus at Formiæ on the 21st; I have seen Libo. Nothing but terror and uncertainty everywhere! Pompey is on the road to Larinum; for there are some cohorts there, as also at Luceria and Teanum, and in the rest of Apulia. After that nobody knows whether he means to make a stand anywhere, or to cross the sea. If he stays in Italy, I am afraid he cannot have a dependable army: but if he goes away, where I am to go or stay, or what I am to do, I don't know. For the man, whose "Phalarism"¹ you dread, will, I think, spare no form of brutality: nor will the suspension

¹ Cruelty like that of the tyrant Phalaris.

of business, nor the departure of senate and magistrates, nor the closing of the treasury cause him to pause. But all this, as you say, we shall know before long. Meanwhile, forgive my writing to you at such length and so often. For I find some relief in it, and at the same time want to draw a letter from you, and above all some advice as to what I am to do and how to conduct myself. Shall I commit myself wholly to this side? I am not deterred by the danger, but I am bursting with vexation. Such a want of all plan! so utterly opposed in every respect to my advice! Am I to procrastinate and trim, and then join the winning side, the party in power? "I dread to face the Trojans,"¹ and I am held back from that course by the duty not only of a citizen, but also of a friend, though my resolution is often weakened by pity for my children. Do, therefore, though equally anxious yourself, write something to a man in this state of utter uncertainty, and especially what you think I ought to do in case of Pompey's quitting Italy. Manius Lepidus, for his part—for we have been together—draws the line at that, and so does L. Torquatus. I am hampered, among many other things, by my lictors: I have never seen such a hopeless entanglement. Accordingly, I don't expect anything positive from you, but merely your present impression. In fact, I want to know what the precise difficulty in your mind is. It is all but certain that Labienus² has abandoned him. If it could only have been possible that on coming to Rome Labienus had found magistrates and a senate there, he would have been of eminent service to our cause. For it would have been clear that loyalty to the Republic had caused him to hold one who was his friend guilty of treason. This is clear even now, but of less practical advantage: for there is no one to be of advantage to, and I expect him to feel some dissatisfaction—unless perchance

¹ For this quotation—Cicero's constant way of indicating public opinion—see vol. i., p. 90.

² T. Atius Labienus had been Cæsar's *legatus* in Gaul, and was so trusted by him as to be left in charge of Gallia Togata in Cæsar's absence (B.C. 50). Cæsar was warned that he was being tampered with, but refused to believe it (*B. G.* viii. 52). It was, however, true, and he became one of the most violent of the Pompeians. He eventually fell at Munda.

it is not true, after all, that he has abandoned Cæsar. For myself, I am convinced that it is true. Pray, though you say you confine yourself to the limits of your own house, do give me a sketch of the city. Is Pompey missed? Is there any appearance of a feeling against Cæsar? What, too, is your opinion as to Terentia and Tullia? Should they stay at Rome, or join me, or seek some place of safety? On this, and indeed on any other point, pray write to me, or rather keep on writing.

CCCV (F XIV, 18)

TO TERENCE AND TULLIA (AT ROME)

FORMLÆ, 22 JANUARY

TULLIUS to his wife, and her father to his dearest daughter, and Cicero to his mother and sister, send warm greetings. I think, my darlings, you should carefully consider and reconsider what to do, whether to stay at Rome, or to join me, or seek some place of safety. This is not a point for my consideration alone, but for yours also. What occurs to me is this: you may be safe at Rome under Dolabella's protection, and that circumstance may prove serviceable to us in case of any violence or plunder commencing. But, on the other hand, I am shaken in this idea by seeing that all the loyalists have left Rome and have the ladies of their families with them. Again, the district in which I now am consists of towns and estates also which are in my power, so you could be a good deal with me, and, if you quitted me, could very conveniently stay in domains belonging to us. I cannot as yet quite make up my mind which of the two is the better course for you to take. Please observe for yourselves what other ladies of your rank are doing, and be careful not to be cut off from the power of leaving town when you *do* wish to do so. I would have you carefully consider it again and again with each other and with your

friends. Tell Philotimus to secure the house with barricades and a watch. Also please organize a regular service of letter-carriers, so that I may hear something from you every day. Above all attend to your health, if you wish me to maintain mine.

Formiæ, 22 January.

CCCVI (A VII, 13 a)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

MINTURNÆ, 23 JANUARY

As to the business of Vennonius, I agree with you. Labienus I regard as a "demigod." There has been no political stroke this long time past more brilliant. If he has done no other good, he has at least given *him* pain. But as a matter of fact, I *do* think that some good has been done to the cause. I am charmed also with Piso, whose judgment on his son-in-law I think will have weight. But you perceive the nature of the war. It is only a civil war in the sense that it has originated from the unscrupulous boldness of one unprincipled citizen, not as arising from a division of sentiment between the citizens generally. But that man is strong in the possession of an army, he commands the allegiance of many by the prospects he holds out and the promises he makes: nothing that anyone possesses is beyond the scope of his desires. To such a man as this the city has been abandoned, without any garrison to protect it, crammed with every kind of wealth. What would you not have to fear from the man who regards those temples and roofs, not as constituting his fatherland, but as objects for plunder?¹ What his proceedings are going to be, and how they are to be put into any shape, without senate and without magistrates, I cannot tell. He will not be able to keep up even a pre-

¹ Cp. Blücher's reported remark on seeing London—*was für plunder!*

tence of constitutional action. } For us, however—where shall we be able to raise our heads or when? How utterly incapable our general is you yourself observe, in having had no intelligence of the state of affairs even in Picenum: and how devoid of any plan of campaign, the facts are witness. For, to say nothing of other mistakes committed during the last ten years, could any terms be worse than such a flight? Nor, indeed, have I any idea what he is contemplating at this moment, though I never cease asking again and again by letter. Everyone agrees that he is in a state of abject alarm and agitation. Accordingly, as far as I can see, there is no garrison—to organize which he was kept at the city walls—nor any place where a garrison could be posted. His whole hope rests on the two legions somewhat treacherously retained, and almost to be regarded as belonging to another.¹ For as yet, indeed, those whom he is enlisting are men reluctant to serve and averse from fighting. While the time for making terms has been let slip. I do not see what is going to happen. At any rate we, or our leader, have allowed things to come to this pass, that, having left harbour without a rudder, we must let ourselves drift before the storm. So I hesitate as to what to do with my son and nephew: sometimes I think I had better despatch them to Greece. For Tullia and Terentia, again—when I see a vision of barbarians arriving in the city—I am filled with all kinds of alarm; but when I think of Dolabella, I breathe again somewhat. But pray consider what you think ought to be done: in the first place, with an eye to their safety—for I must regard their security as requiring to be considered in a different light from my own—secondly, with a view to popular opinion, that I may not be blamed for deciding that they should remain at Rome, when the loyalists generally are flying from it. Nay, even you and Peducæus—for he has written to me—must take care what you do. You are men of such shining characters, that the same line of conduct is expected from you as from the noblest citizens. But I can safely leave this to you, since it is to *you* that I look for advice for myself and my family. All I have to add is to ask you to find out, as far as you can, what is going on,

¹ See p. 253, note.

and to write me word of it, and—what I expect from you even more—tell me what you are yourself able to conjecture. “The best prophet,”¹ you know. Pardon my running on like this : it is a relief to me when writing to you, and draws a letter from you.

CCCVII (F XIV, 14)

TO TERENCE AND TULLIA (AT ROME)

MINTURNÆ, 23 JANUARY

TULLIUS to Terentia, her father to Tullia, his two sweet-hearts, and Cicero to his excellent mother and darling sister, send warm greetings. If you are well, we are so too. It is now for you to consider, and not for me only, what you must do. If Cæsar means to come to Rome in a peaceable manner, you can stay at home with safety for the present : but if in his madness he is going to give up the city to plunder, I fear Dolabella himself may not be able to protect us sufficiently. Besides, I am alarmed lest we should be cut off from you, so that when you do wish to leave town you may be prevented. There is one other thing, which you are in the best position to observe yourselves—are other ladies of your rank remaining in Rome? If not, it deserves consideration whether you can do so with propriety. As things stand at present indeed, always provided that I am allowed to hold this district, you will be able to stay with me or on one of our estates with the greatest comfort. There is another thing I am afraid of—a want of provisions in the city before long. On these points pray consult with Pomponius, with Camillus, with anybody you think right : above all don't be frightened. Labienus has made things better for us. Piso, too, is helpful in quitting the city and declaring his own son-in-law guilty of treason. Do you, dear

¹ *μάντις δ' ἀριστος*, which, as usual, he leave Atticus to fill up. It is a line from a lost tragedy of Euripides : *μάντις δ' ἀριστος ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς*, “the best prophet is the good guesser.”

hearts, write to me as often as possible, and tell me how you are and what is going on around you. Quintus and his son and Rufus send their love. Good-bye!

23 January, Minturnæ.

CCCVIII (A VII, 13 b)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

MINTURNÆ, 24 JANUARY

I DIDN'T guess your riddle: it is more obscure than Plato's number.¹ However, I *have* made it out now: you meant the Oppii of Velia by your *succones* (blood-suckers).² I wavered about it a long time; but when I hit on the solution, the rest became clear and quite agreed with Terentia's total.

I saw L. Cæsar³ at Minturnæ early on the 23rd of January with his utterly absurd message—he is not a human being, but a broom with the binding off. I think Cæsar himself must have acted with the purpose of throwing ridicule on the affair, in trusting a message on matters so important to such a man as this—unless, perchance, he

¹ The "nuptial number" in the Republic, 545C—547A. On its interpretation much learned ink has been spent, mostly in vain. See *Nuptial Number of Plato, its Solution and Significance*, by James Adam, 1891.

² The Oppii were money-lenders who had a house in Rome close to that of Atticus (see Letter CCCXXXIII). What Atticus had said about them we cannot tell, or whether there was an obscure pun in the name thus given them by Atticus (from ὄπρις, "fig juice," *sucus*), we cannot be sure. If there was it is no wonder that Cicero found the riddle a dark one. Tyrrell and Purser, who read *saccones*, "bagmen," object to the pun on *sucus* as too bad even for Cicero; it is not Cicero's, however, but Atticus's, and Cicero evidently thought it pretty bad.

³ A distant connexion of Iulius Cæsar. His father was Cæsar's *legatus*, and he visited Cæsar at Ariminum with a message from Pompey (with one of the prætors), and brought back a proposal that Pompey should go to his province of Spain, and that all troops in Italy should be disbanded, the *comitia* left free, and an interview immediately arranged between them (Cæs. B. C. I. 8-9).

never did intrust it, and the fellow has, without warrant, made use of some conversation which he picked up as a message. Labienus, a man of noble character in my opinion, arrived at Teanum on the 22nd. There he met Pompey and the consuls. What their conversation was, and what arrangement was come to, I will write and tell you when I know for certain. Pompey set off from Teanum in the direction of Larinum on the 23rd. He stopped that day at Venafrum. Labienus seems to have brought no little courage to our side. But I haven't yet anything to tell you from these parts: I expect rather to hear news from you—what intelligence from Cæsar reaches Rome, how he takes Labienus's desertion, what Domitius is doing among the Marsi, Thermus at Iguvium, P. Attius at Cingulum;¹ what the feeling of the city folk is, what your own conjecture as to the future: on all these points pray write frequently, and tell me what your opinion is about my ladies, and what you intend doing yourself. If I had been writing with my own hand, this letter would have been longer, but I dictated it owing to my eyes being inflamed.

CCCIX (A VII, 14)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CALES, 25 JANUARY

I WRITE this letter, though suffering from slight inflammation of the eyes, when on the point of quitting Cales for Capua. L. Cæsar brought Cæsar's message to Pompey on the 23rd, while the latter was at Teanum with the consuls. His proposal was accepted, but on condition of his withdrawing his garrisons from the towns which he had occupied outside his province. If he did this, they said in their answer that we would return to Rome and conclude the negotiation in the

¹ L. Domitius Ahenobarbus occupied Corfinium, but presently had to surrender it to Cæsar. The same had happened to P. Attius Varus at Auximum (not Cingulum), and Q. Minucius Thermus had to surrender Iguvium to Curio (Cæsar, *B. C.* i. 12-17).

senate.¹ I hope for the present we have peace: for he is not quite easy about his mad enterprise, nor our general as to the amount of his forces. Pompey has directed me to come to Capua and assist the levy, to which the Campanian settlers² do not make a very eager response. Cæsar's gladiators at Capua, about whom I gave you some incorrect information on the authority of a letter from A. Torquatus, Pompey has very adroitly distributed among the heads of families, two to each.³ There were 5,000 shields in the school: they were said to be contemplating breaking out. Pompey's measure was a very wise precaution for the safety of the state. As to our ladies, in whom I include your sister, pray consider whether they can stay at Rome with propriety, when other ladies of the same rank have left town. I have said this to them and to yourself in a previous letter. I would like you to urge upon them to leave the city, especially as I have properties on the sea-coast—now under my presidency—on which they might reside in tolerable comfort, considering all things. For if I get into any difficulty⁴ about my son-in-law, though I am not bound to be responsible for him, yet it is made worse by my women folk having remained in Rome longer than others. Please let me know what you and Sextus are thinking of doing as to leaving town, and what your opinion is on the whole situation. For my part, I never cease urging peace, which, however unfair, is better than the justest war in the world. But this is in the hands of fortune.

¹ Cæsar (*B. C. i. 14*) calls this proposal unfair, for Pompey, who consented to promise to go to his province, mentioned no time at which he would go to Spain, and proposed to retain his province and legions, while Cæsar's army was to be disbanded.

² Many of Pompey's own veterans had been settled with grants of land in the *ager Campanus*, the old territory of Capua, by Cæsar's agrarian law of B.C. 59.

³ Cæsar gives an account of this (*B. C. i. 14*). He says that Lentulus, the consul, at first called these men out with a promise of freedom. But this seemed shocking to Roman ideas, and, being remonstrated with, he billeted them out as described. Cicero would seem to put the matter, as though this billeting them out in pairs was, from the first, a precautionary measure. It may be that Cicero is right, and that Cæsar got a false idea of the transaction from some hostile source.

⁴ *I.e.*, with Pompey and his party, because Dolabella was with Cæsar.

CCCX (A VII, 15)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CAPUA, 26 JANUARY

EVER since I left Rome I have not let a single day pass without sending you something by way of letter ; not because I had anything particularly to write about, but in order that I might chat with you in my absence, than which—since I cannot do so face to face—nothing gives me greater pleasure. On arriving at Capua on the 25th—the day before I write this—I met the consuls and many members of the senate. All were anxious that Cæsar should stand by his offer, with the addition of withdrawing his garrisons. Favonius alone disapproved of any conditions being imposed on us by him ; but he was not listened to in the discussion. For even Cato himself now prefers slavery to fighting. However, he says that he wishes to be in the senate when the terms are debated, if Cæsar can be induced to withdraw his garrisons. So he is *not* eager about going to Sicily—the very thing most wanted : but he *does* wish to be in the senate, where I fear he will only do mischief. Postumius, moreover, who was definitely named in the senatorial decree to go to Sicily at once and succeed Furfanius, says that he will not go without Cato, and thinks very highly of his own personal service and influence in the senate. Accordingly, this duty has fallen to Fannius. He is being sent in advance to Sicily with *imperium*. In our discussions a great variety of opinion is expressed. Most declare that Cæsar will not abide by his offer, and say that these demands were only thrown in by him to prevent our making the necessary preparations for war. I, however, am of opinion that he will carry out the withdrawal of the garrisons. For he will have gained his point if he is elected consul, and gained it with less crime than that of his first step. But we must put up with the blow : for we are scandalously unprepared both in regard to soldiers and money. All the latter, indeed—not only private money in

the city, but the public money in the treasury also—we have left for him. Pompey has started to join the Appian legions.¹ He has Labienus with him. I am anxious to hear what you think of these events. I am thinking of returning to Formiæ at once.

CCCXI (F XVI, 12)

TO TIRO (AT PATRÆ)

CAPUA, 27 JANUARY

How seriously my personal safety and that of all loyalists is imperilled, as well as that of the whole senate and Republic, you may judge from the fact that we have abandoned our town-houses, and the very city itself, to plunder and conflagration. Matters have come to such a pitch that, unless some god or some accident intervenes, we cannot possibly be saved. For my part, ever since I arrived at the city, I have never ceased promoting in thought, word, and deed everything that made for peace: but a strange mad passion for fighting has inflamed not only the disloyal, but even those who are reckoned loyalists, though I loudly proclaim that nothing can be more lamentable than a civil war. Accordingly, when Cæsar yielded to the promptings of what may be called downright insanity, and—forgetting his name and his honours—had successively occupied Ariminum, Pisaurum, Ancona, and Arretium, I left the city. On the wisdom or courage of such a step it is useless to argue. You see how we stand now. The upshot is, proposals are received from Cæsar that Pompey should go to Spain: that the levies already completed and our garrisons should be disbanded: that he will hand over farther Gaul to Domitius, hither Gaul to Considius Nonianus (these are the men to whom these

¹ Apparently the two legions sent from Gaul a year before by Cæsar for the Parthian war, which, according to Plutarch (*Pomp.* 57), were led into Italy by one Appius. There is, however, a doubt as to the reading between *Appianus* and *Attianus*. The legions were in winter quarters in various towns in Apulia. See pp. 243, 247.

provinces have been allotted): that he will come to canvass for the consulship, and no longer demand that his candidature be admitted in his absence: that he will be in town as candidate for the legal three *nundinæ*.¹ We accept the proposals, but on the condition that he withdraws his garrisons from the places he has occupied, so that a meeting of the senate may be held at Rome to discuss these same proposals in security. If he does this, there is hope of a peace—not a creditable one, for we accept terms from him, but anything is better than to be as we are. If, on the other hand, he declines to abide by his terms, everything is ready for war, but of a kind that he cannot possibly maintain—especially as he will have shirked terms proposed by himself—provided only that we cut him off from all power of approaching the city. This we hope can be done: for we are holding levies on a large scale, and we think that he is afraid, if he once begins a march upon the city, that he may lose the Gauls, both of which, with the exception of the Transpadani, are bitterly hostile to him: and on the side of Spain he has six legions and a large force of auxiliaries under Afranius and Petreius² on his rear. If he persists in his madness it seems possible that he may be crushed—if it can only be done without losing Rome! He has, again, received a very severe blow in the fact that Titus Labienus, who occupied the most influential position in his army, has declined to be a partner in his crime. He has abandoned him and is with us, and many are said to intend doing the same. I as yet am president of the sea-coast from Formiæ. I refused any more important function, that my letters and exhortations to peace might have greater influence with Cæsar. If, however, war *does* break out, I see that I shall have to take command of a camp and a definite number of legions. I have another trouble in the fact that my son-in-law Dolabella is with Cæsar.

I wished you to know these facts, but don't let them agitate you and retard your recovery. I have recommended you with great earnestness to Aulus Varro, whom I know to be warmly attached to me and very fond of you,

¹ That is, seventeen clear days.

² Two of the three legates of Pompey in Spain.

asking him to interest himself in your health and your voyage, and generally to take you under his charge and look after you. I feel certain he will do all this, for he promised to do so, and spoke to me in the kindest manner. Pray, since you were unable to be with me at the time I most wanted your help and fidelity, do not hurry or allow yourself to embark upon a voyage while ill, or in bad weather. I shall never think you come late if you come well and strong. As yet I have seen no one who had seen you since M. Volusius, who handed me your letter. I don't wonder at this, for I don't think my letters either can reach you in such stormy weather. But do your best to recover, and, when you do recover, only sail when you can do so with safety. My son is at Formiæ, Terentia and Tullia at Rome. Take care of yourself.

Capua, 27 January.

CCCXII (A VII, 16)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CALES, 28 JANUARY

I THINK all your letters have reached me, but the first batch was out of their proper order, the rest in the order in which they were sent by Terentia. About Cæsar's message and the arrival of Labienus, and about the consuls' and Pompey's answer, I told you in the letter of the 26th of January from Capua, and I put a good deal more information into the same packet. At present we are in suspense on two points: first, what Cæsar will do when he has received the answer intrusted to L. Cæsar to take to him; and, secondly, what Pompey is doing now. The latter, indeed, writes me word that in a few days he will have a strong army, and leads me to hope that, if he makes his way into Picenum, we shall return to Rome. He has got Labienus with him, who has no doubt about the weakness of Cæsar's forces; and Pompey is in much better spirits since his arrival. I have been

ordered to Capua by the consuls on the 5th of February. I left Capua for Formiæ on the 28th of January. On that day having received your letter at Cales about three o'clock in the afternoon, I am writing this on the spot. About Terentia and Tullia I agree with you, and I have written to tell them to apply to you. If they have not yet started, there is no occasion for their disturbing themselves until we see how affairs stand.

CCCXIII (F XVI, 8)

Q. CICERO TO TIRO (AT PATRÆ)

(CAMPANIA, JANUARY)

I AM very anxious about your health, for though those who come from you announce that your complaint is not dangerous though lingering, yet, consoling as that is, it involves the great anxiety of a prolonged absence from us of one whose usefulness and charm I appreciate by their loss. Yet though I long with my whole heart to see you, I still earnestly beg you not to trust yourself to so long a voyage and a winter journey, unless you are quite strong, and not to set sail at all without careful consideration. Even in houses and towns it is difficult to avoid cold when one is unwell, to say nothing of escaping the inclemency of the weather at sea and on the road.

“Cold to the tender skin is deadliest foe,”¹

says Euripides. I don't know what you think of him as an authority. I look upon his verses as so many solemn affidavits. If you love me, make sure of your recovery, and come to us well and strong as soon as possible. Love us all, and good-bye. The son of Quintus sends his regards.

¹ ψυχος δὲ λεπτῷ χροτὶ πολεμώτατον. A fragment of Euripides, from what play is unknown.

CCCXIV (A VII, 17)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMLÆ, 2 FEBRUARY

YOUR letter is both welcome and delightful. I thought of sending the boys to Greece when there seemed an idea of Pompey's flying from Italy : for I should have made for Spain, which would not have been equally suitable for them. For yourself and Sextus,¹ it seems to me that even now you may remain with propriety at Rome. For you are not at all bound to be my Pompey's friends. For no one ever did more to detract from the value of city property!² Do you see that I am absolutely joking? You ought now to know what answer L. Cæsar is taking back from Pompey, and what sort of a letter he is conveying from him to Cæsar : for they were drawn up and despatched with the express purpose of being exposed for public perusal. On this point I blamed Pompey in my own heart for having trusted our friend Sestius with the writing of a despatch so important and certain to come into everybody's hands, though he has a very good style of his own. Accordingly, I never read anything more "Sestian."³ Nevertheless, it is made quite clear from Pompey's despatch that nothing is denied to Cæsar, and that all his demands are conceded to the full : he will be a sheer madman if he declines the very proposals which it required the most consummate impudence ever to have made ! Pray, who are you to say, "If he goes to Spain," "if he dismisses the garrisons"? Nevertheless, the con-

¹ Sext. Peducæus.

² Atticus invested much money in city property (Nepos, *Att.* 14). Cicero means that Pompey's abandonment of Rome has depreciated the value of such properties.

³ Σηριωδιότροπον. In the many allusions to P. Sestius (whom he defended) Cicero does not seem ever to have depreciated him, except that once (vol. i., p. 219) he calls him *morosus*, "whimsical," "difficile," and talks of his "wrong-headedness in certain particulars" (*perversitatem quibusdam in rebus*).

cession is being made: with less dignity, indeed, at this time of day—for it is after the Republic has actually been violated by him and its territory invaded—than if he had some time back obtained his demand to be reckoned a candidate; and yet I doubt his being content even with these concessions. For, after giving that message to L. Cæsar, he ought, until he received the answer, to have somewhat relaxed his war-like movements, whereas he is said to be at this moment more active than ever. Trebatius, indeed, writes to say that on the 22nd of January he was asked by him to write to me, urging me to remain at the city walls: that I could not oblige him more. This was put at great length. I calculated by reckoning the days that, as soon as Cæsar heard of my departure, he began to be anxious lest we should all leave town. Therefore I have no doubt he has written to Piso, and also to Servius. One thing I am surprised at, that he has not written to me himself, nor opened his communication with me through Dolabella or Cælius: not that I disdain a letter from Trebatius, whom I know to be singularly attached to me. I wrote back to Trebatius—for I wouldn't write to Cæsar himself, as he had not written to me—pointing out how difficult that course was for me at such a time as this; that I was, however, at my own country seat and had not undertaken any levy or any active part in the affair.¹ By this I shall abide, as long as there is any hope of peace. But if war really begins, I shall not be wanting to my duty or position, after despatching my boys to Greece. For I perceive that all Italy will be blazing with war. Such the mischief that is caused partly by disloyal, partly by jealous citizens! But how far this will go I shall learn within the next few days by his answer to mine. Then I will write to you at greater length, if there is going to be war: but if there is to be peace, or even a truce, I shall, I hope, see you in person. On the 2nd of February, on which I write this, I am expecting the ladies at my Formian house, whither I have returned from Capua. I

¹ Cicero had been urged to come to Capua to assist in the levy. Those who wish to maintain his veracity assert that he had done nothing in the matter. But at any rate he had accepted the command of the sea-coast of Campania, though he afterwards resigned even that. It must be admitted, however, that he is sailing near the wind.

had written to them on your advice to remain at Rome ; but I hear that there is some increase of panic in the city. I mean to be at Capua on the 5th of February, in accordance with orders from the consuls. Whatever news reaches me here from Pompey I will let you know at once, and shall expect a letter from you as to what is going on at Rome.

CCCXV (A VII, 18)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 3 FEBRUARY

ON the 2nd of February our ladies came to Formiæ and reported to me your services to them replete with the most affectionate kindness. I wished them, till we knew whether we were to have a dishonourable peace or an unhappy war, to remain in my Formian villa, and our two boys with them. I myself, with my brother, am starting for Capua on the 3rd of February, on which I despatch this letter, to join the consuls, having been ordered to be there on the 5th. Pompey's answer is said to be popular and to have received the approbation of a public meeting. I thought that would be the case. If Cæsar refuses to accept *that*, he will be entirely discredited : if he accepts it—— ! “Which, then, do you prefer ?” you will say. I would have answered the question if I knew what our state of preparation was. It is reported here that Cassius¹ has been driven from Ancona, and that city occupied by our men. If there is to be war, that will be an advantage. As for Cæsar himself, they say that, though he sent L. Cæsar with a message as to making peace, he continues holding levies with the greatest activity, occupying posts, securing them with garrisons. What an unprincipled bandit ! What a disgrace to

¹ Q. Cassius Longinus, the tribune who, with Antony, had vetoed the decree about Cæsar in January, and had fled to Ariminum. The rumour referred to had no foundation.

the Republic, hardly to be outweighed by any relief from war! But let us cease anger, bow to circumstances, and accompany Pompey to Spain. It is the best of a bad job, since we failed to avert that man's second consulship from the state, even when we had the opportunity.¹ But enough of this.

I forgot to write to you about Dionysius before; but I have come to the conclusion to wait till Cæsar's answer is known, so that, if I return to the city, he should await me there, but, if there is any delay, I should summon him to join me. Of course I know what his duty will be in case I have to fly, and what will be the conduct becoming a man of learning and a friend: but I don't expect too much in this way from Greeks. However, if, as I hope will not be the case, I have to send for him, pray see that I am not troubling an unwilling man. Quintus is anxious to pay you his debt by drawing on Egnatius, and Egnatius is neither unwilling nor short of cash; but when the state of things is such that Quintus Titinius²—of whom we are seeing a good deal—declares that he has no money for personal expenses, and has yet announced to his debtors that they may go on with the same interest, and when L. Ligur is said to have done the same, and when Quintus at this crisis has no cash in hand, and is neither able to get any from Egnatius nor to raise a new loan,³ he is surprised that you do not take into consideration this general tightness of the money market. For my part, though I obey the pseudo-

¹ When we might have prevented the law being passed allowing Cæsar to be a candidate in his absence. Others take it, "though we refused him his second consulship even when it was not an opportune moment for doing it" (because he had a strong army). I do not think the Latin will bear this. In support of the translation in the text we may remember that Cicero often traces the whole difficulty to the initial mistake of the law allowing Cæsar to be a candidate without coming to Rome.

² Q. Titinius, a Roman eques, who lent money. He was the father of the Titinius on Cæsar's staff, immortalized by Shakespeare ("Give me some drink, Titinius"). L. Octavius Ligur was also a lender of money. L. Egnatius is mentioned several times as owing Q. Cicero money.

³ *Versuram facere*, lit. "to effect a transfer," was the technical term for raising a new loan in order to pay off the principal and interest of an old one.

Hesiodic maxim, "Judge not," etc.,¹ especially in the case of yourself, whom I have never seen to act unreasonably, yet I am affected by his tale of woe. Whatever this amounts to, I thought you ought to know it.

CCCXVI (A VII, 19)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 3 FEBRUARY

I HAVE nothing to tell you. Why, I didn't even send you a letter which I composed last night. For it was full of hopeful expressions, because I had just been told of the spirit shewn at the public meeting, and was still in the belief that *he* would abide by the terms, especially as they were of his own proposing. But here, this 3rd of February, I have received in the morning a letter from you, one from Philotimus, another from Furnius, with one from Curio to Furnius, in which Curio ridicules the mission of L. Cæsar. I think we are completely trapped, nor do I know what plan to adopt. But it isn't about myself that I am anxious: what to do about the boys is what puzzles me. However, as I write this I am on the point of starting for Capua, that I may have a better opportunity of ascertaining Pompey's position.

¹ μηδὲ δίκην (δικάσας πρὶν ἢ ἀμφοῖν μῦθον ἀκούσας), "don't judge till you have heard both sides." Cicero, as usual, indicates the proverb by a word or two, knowing that Atticus can fill it up, just as we do with well-known proverbs. The line does not occur in the extant Hesiodic poems, and was attributed to Phocylides.

CCCXVII (A VII, 20)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CAPUA, 5 FEBRUARY

I HAVE no choice but to be brief. I have given up all hope of peace, and as to war, our men are not stirring a finger. Don't, pray, suppose that our consuls care for anything less than that: though it was in hopes of hearing something and learning what preparations we were making that I came to meet them in a pelting rain on the 4th, according to orders. They, however, had not arrived, and were expected on the 5th—empty-handed and unprepared. Pompey, again, is said to be at Luceria, and on his way to join some cohorts of the Appian legions,¹ which are far from being in a very satisfactory state. But *he*, they say, is hurrying along and is expected at Rome every hour, not to fight a battle—for who is there to fight with?—but to prevent the flight from town. For myself, if it is to be in Italy—"if die I must," etc.² I don't ask your advice about that: but if it is to be outside Italy—what can I do? On the side of remaining there are the winter-season, my lictors, the improvidence and carelessness of our leaders: on the side of flight, my friendship for Pompey, the claims of the loyalist cause, the disgrace of having anything to do with a tyrant; as to whom it is uncertain whether he will copy Phalaris or Pisistratus. Pray unravel these perplexities for me, and help me with your advice, though I expect by this time you are in a warm corner yourself at Rome. However, do the best you can. If I learn anything fresh to-day, I will let you know. For the consuls will be here directly on the 5th, the date they

¹ The two legions which had been withdrawn from Gaul in B.C. 51. See p. 274.

² *κἂν ἀποθανεῖν* (*δὲν με, θάνομ' ἐκουσίως*), "if die I must, right willingly I'll die." A verse of Diphilus, indicated, as usual, by one or two words.

fixed themselves. I shall look for a letter from you every day. But do answer this as soon as you can. I left the ladies and the two boys at Formiæ.

CCCXVIII (A VII, 21)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CALES, 8 FEBRUARY

Bad situation

ABOUT our misfortunes you hear sooner than I: for they flow from Rome. As for anything good, there is none to be expected from this quarter. I arrived at Capua for the 5th of February, in accordance with the order of the consuls. Late on that day Lentulus arrived; the other consul had absolutely not come on the 7th. For I left Capua on that day and stayed at Cales. From that town I am sending this letter, before daybreak, on the 8th. What I ascertained while at Capua was that the consuls are no good: that no levy is being held anywhere. For the recruiting officers do not venture to shew their faces, with Cæsar close at hand, and our leader, on the contrary, nowhere and doing nothing; nor do recruits give in their names. It is not goodwill to the cause, but hope that is wanting. As to our leader Gnæus—what an inconceivably miserable spectacle! What a complete breakdown! No courage, no plan, no forces, no energy! I will pass over his most discreditable flight from the city, his abject speeches in the towns, his ignorance not only of his opponent's, but even of his own resources—but what do you think of this? On the 7th of February the tribune C. Cassius came with an order from him to the consuls that they should go to Rome, remove the money from the reserve treasury,¹ and

¹ *Sanctius ærarium*. A reserve fund, said originally to have been made in case of a Gallic invasion, was replenished by the tax of five per cent. on the selling value of manumitted slaves. This was first levied in B.C. 357 (Livy, vii. 16), and remained in force till a late period of the empire. The reserve fund was drawn upon in B.C. 212, during

immediately quit the town. After leaving the city they are to return! Under what guard? They are to come out of the city! Who is to give them leave to do so? The consul (Lentulus) wrote back to say that Pompey must himself first make his way into Picenum. But the fact is, that district has already been entirely lost. No one knows that except myself, who have learnt it from a letter of Dolabella's. I have no manner of doubt but that Cæsar is all but actually in Apulia, and our friend Gnæus already on board ship. What I am to do is a great "problem," though it would have been no problem to me, had not everything been most disgracefully mismanaged, and without consulting me in any way; problem, however, it is, as to what it is my duty to do. Cæsar himself urges me to promote peace. But his letter is dated before he began his violent proceedings. Dolabella and Cælius both say that he is well satisfied with my conduct. I am on the rack of perplexity. Assist me by your advice if you can, but all the same look after your own interests to the utmost of your power. In such a total upset I have nothing to say to you. I am looking for a letter from you.

CCCXIX (A VII, 22)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 9 FEBRUARY

I CAN see that there is not a foot of ground in Italy which is not in *his* power. About Pompey I know nothing, and I think he will be caught, unless he has already embarked. What incredible rapidity! Whereas our general's—but I cannot find fault with him without sorrow, for whom I am

the second Punic war (Livy, xxvii. 11). According to Cæsar (B.C. 14), the consuls were just about to open it before they left Rome, but, terrified by a false report of Cæsar's immediate approach, fled without doing so. Pompey now wishes them to go back for it.

in an agony of anxiety. You have good reason for fearing a massacre: not that anything could be less in Cæsar's interest, with a view to the permanency of his victory and supremacy, but I can see at whose bidding he is likely to act. To be safe, my opinion is that we must go. As to those Oppii¹ of yours, I don't know what to advise. Do what seems to you to be best. You should speak to Philotimus, and besides, you will have Terentia on the 13th. But what am I to do? On what land or sea am I to follow a man, when I don't even know where he is? After all, how can I do so by land? And by sea—whither? Shall I surrender myself to Cæsar then? Suppose I could do so with safety and many advise it—could I with honour also? Assuredly not. Am I, again, to ask advice of you, as my custom is? There is no way out of the tangle. Still, if anything occurs to your mind, please write, and tell me also what you mean to do yourself.

CCCXX (A VII, 23)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 10 FEBRUARY

ON the 9th of February, in the evening, I received a letter from Philotimus saying that "Domitius has a strong force; cohorts from Picenum, under Lentulus and Thermus, have effected a junction with Domitius's army; Cæsar's advance can be stopped: he is himself afraid of that; the courage of the loyalists at Rome is raised; the disloyal are in dismay." For my part, I fear that these are dreams. However, Manius Lepidus, L. Torquatus, Gaius Cassius, who are staying with me at Formiæ, are quite restored to life by Philotimus's letter. I, however, am afraid that the truer account is this: that we are all now practically captives; that Pompey is on the point of abandoning Italy, of whom, indeed (what a bitter pill to swallow!), Cæsar is said to be actually in pursuit. Cæsar pursue Pompey? What, to kill

¹ See Letter CCCVII.

him? Merciful heavens! and don't we rush as one man to throw our bodies in the way? You, too, must sigh at that! But what are we to do? We are utterly beaten, trapped and taken.

However, after reading Philotimus's letter, I changed my plan as to the ladies, whom, as I wrote you word, I intended sending back to Rome. It has occurred to my mind that it would give rise to much talk to the effect that I already shewed my opinion about the fortunes of the party, and that, regarding it as desperate, I had in this return of my ladies made a kind of first step towards my own return. As for myself, however, I agree with you that I should not commit myself to an indefinite and dangerous flight, by which I should do no good to the Republic or to Pompey, for whom I can die with as much cheerfulness as loyalty. I will remain, therefore. But to go on living——!

You ask what is going on here. The whole business of Capua, and the levy in this neighbourhood, are at a standstill. There is complete despair. Everybody is preparing to fly, unless some such incident occurs as Pompey effecting a junction of his forces with those of Domitius. But I think we shall know all about it in two or three days. I send you a copy of Cæsar's letter to me; for you asked for it. Many have written to tell me that he is much pleased with me. I don't mind that, so long as I abstain—as I have as yet—from doing anything discreditable.

CCCXXI (A VIII, 11 a)

POMPEY TO CICERO (AT FORMIÆ)

LUCERIA, 10 FEBRUARY

QUINTUS FABIVS came to me on the 10th of February. He brings me word that L. Domitius, with twelve cohorts of his own and with fourteen brought to him by Vibullius,¹ were

¹ L. Vibullius Rufus, Pompey's *præfectus fabrum*.

on the march to join me: that his intention was to quit Corfinium on the 9th of February, that Gaius Hirrus with five cohorts was coming up behind him.¹ My opinion is that you should join me at Luceria. For here I think you will be safest.

CCCXXII (A VII, 24)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, II FEBRUARY

PHILOTIMUS's letter did not give me over much pleasure, but it did very much so to the people about here. Behold, the next day a letter to Cassius from Capua, sent by his friend Lucretius, announcing that Nigidius had arrived at Capua from Domitius, bringing the intelligence that Vibullius, with a small body of soldiers, was hastening from Picenum to join Pompey, that Cæsar was marching rapidly at his heels, that Domitius had not three thousand men. I feel no doubt of Pompey being in full retreat—I only hope he may escape. I have given up the idea of flying, in accordance with your opinion.

CCCXXIII (A VII, 25)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, II FEBRUARY

AFTER I had sent you a gloomy and, I fear, true letter about Lucretius's letter to Cassius, forwarded here from

¹ Cæsar (*B. C. i.* 17) makes Domitius, writing to Pompey, mention "more than thirty cohorts," which agrees with these numbers (thirty-one). L. Domitius Ahenobarbus had been nominated by the senate to the province of Transalpine Gaul.

Capua, Cephalio arrived from you with one more cheerful in tone, but yet not very confident, as is usual with you. I can believe anything more easily than that Pompey—as you assert—has an army.¹ Nobody brings such a report here, but rather everything opposite to my wishes. What a wretched anomaly! When he was in the wrong, he always got his way; now that he is eminently in the right, he fails entirely. How can I explain it, except by saying that he knew how to do the former—for it was not difficult—but not the latter. For to rule a free state in the right way was a difficult art! But I hourly expect full information, and then I will at once write you word.

CCCXXIV (A VIII, 12 b)

POMPEY TO L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS (IN CORFINIUM)

LUCERIA (BETWEEN 10 AND 16 FEBRUARY)

I AM much surprised at not hearing from you, and that I am informed of public affairs by others rather than yourself. We cannot be on equal terms with our opponent if our army is scattered: with forces concentrated I hope we may be of service to the Republic and the common safety. Wherefore, as you had arranged—according to Vibullius's letter to me of the 9th of February—to start from Corfinium with your army and join me, I am at a loss to understand why you have changed your design. For the reason mentioned to me in Vibullius's despatch is quite inadequate—that you have delayed because you had received intelligence of Cæsar having left Firmum and arrived at

¹ Cicero seems throughout to exaggerate Pompey's failure to obtain troops. When Cæsar arrived at Brundisium he found Pompey there with two legions, although the consuls had already crossed with the main army (*cum magna parte exercitus*, Cæsar, *B. C.* i. 25). Ahenobarbus's obstinacy in staying at Corfinium, however, had deprived Pompey of considerable reinforcements.

Castrum Truentinum. For the nearer the opponent begins to approach, the prompter ought you to have been in effecting a junction with me, before Cæsar had the opportunity of preventing your march or throwing himself between us. Wherefore I once more earnestly entreat and exhort you, as I have not ceased in my former despatches to demand, that you should come to Luceria on the first day possible, before the forces, which Cæsar has begun collecting, become concentrated in one spot, and so separate you from us. But if certain individuals are preventing your march, in order to preserve their own country seats, it is only fair that you should concede my request and be careful to send me the cohorts, which have arrived from Picenum and Camerinum, leaving all their property behind them.

CCCXXV (A VII, 26)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 13 FEBRUARY

No, my experience does not tally with yours, as you express it in the sentence beginning "As often as I begin to feel elated." The fact is that I am at this moment somewhat elated, and especially by letters from Rome respecting Domitius and the Picentine cohorts. Everything has become more cheerful in the course of the last two days. Accordingly, the flight for which I was preparing has been stopped. Cæsar's threats,

"If with to-morrow's light I find you here,"¹

are flouted. The report about Domitius is good, about Afranius splendid. Thank you for your most friendly advice to keep myself uncommitted as long as possible. You add that I should not give the impression of being too much inclined to the evil side: certainly I may possibly seem to be

¹ A line from a Latin translation of Euripides' *Medea*, 352.

doing so. I refused to take a leading part in a civil war, as long as negotiations for peace were going on, not because it was not a just one, but because former conduct of mine, which was much more fully justified, had done me harm. I was, of course, quite unwilling to have as my enemy a man to whom our own leader had offered a second consulship and a triumph—and in what high-flown terms! “In consideration of the extraordinary brilliancy of your achievements.” I am well aware both of whom to be afraid and on what grounds. But if there is to be war, as I see there will be, I shall not fail to play my part.

As to the twenty sestertia, Terentia has answered you. I did not wish to trouble Dionysius as long as I thought that I should be on the move. However, I made no answer to your frequent remarks about his duty to me, because I expected day after day to be able to settle what was to be done. At present, as far as I can see, the boys are certain to pass the winter in my Formian villa. And I? I can't tell. ~~For if there is war, I am resolved to be with Pompey.~~ Whatever I learn for certain I will take care you know. I think there will be a most horrible war, unless, as you suggest, some Parthian incident¹ comes to the front.

CCCXXVI (A VIII, II b)

TO POMPEY (AT LUCERIA)

FORMIÆ, 15 FEBRUARY

M. CICERO, imperator, greets Gnæus Magnus, proconsul. On the 15th of February I received your letter at Formiæ, informing me that what had happened in Picenum was much more satisfactory than had been before reported to us; and I was glad to hear of the courage and activity of Vibullius. Up to this time, though I have continued living on this

¹ A sudden withdrawal of Cæsar, like that of the Parthians from Syria. See p. 203.

coast, of which I was put in command, yet I have kept a vessel in readiness. For the news that kept reaching me, and the anxious fears that I was entertaining, were of such a kind that I thought myself bound to follow any counsel you might give me. At present our hopes are stronger, thanks to your influence and policy. If you think that Tarracina and the sea-coast can be held, I am ready to remain in it, though there are no garrisons in the towns. There is, in fact, no one of senatorial rank in this part of the country except M. Eppius, whom I directed to remain at Minturnæ, a man of vigilant and painstaking character. For that gallant and influential man, L. Torquatus, is not with me at Formiæ: I think he has started to join you. Anyhow, according to your most recent directions, I went to Capua on the same day as you left Teanum Sidicinum: for you had expressed the wish that I should superintend operations there in conjunction with the prætor M. Considius. On my arrival in that town, I saw that Titus Ampius was holding a levy with the greatest energy, that Libo was taking over the men from him, who is also a man of very great energy and influence in that colony. I remained at Capua as long as the consuls did. I visited Capua a second time, in accordance with an order of the consuls, on the 5th of February. After staying there three days I returned to Formiæ. At present I am ignorant of your designs and plan of campaign. [If you think that this coast is to be held, which offers many advantages and is an important district, with illustrious citizens residing in it, and is capable, I think, of being held, there must be some one to command in it.] But if everything is to be concentrated in one spot, I feel no hesitation about joining you at once. I wish for nothing more earnestly than that, and so I told you the day we quitted the city. For my part, I do not trouble myself about anyone's thinking that I have as yet been less active than I ought, so long as you do not think so: nevertheless, if, as I am convinced is the case, we have to fight, I feel confident of being able to justify myself to all the world. I have sent my connexion M. Tullius to you, to receive a letter, if you think it well to write to me.

CCCXXVII (A VIII, I)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMLÆ, 16 FEBRUARY

AFTER I had despatched a letter to you, I received one from Pompey. I would have sent you the letter itself, had not my brother's servant been in such a hurry to start. I will send it, therefore, to-morrow. The rest of it contained the operations in Picenum; about what Vibullius had written to him; about the levy held by Domitius—all of which are known to you, but yet were not so flourishing as Philotimus's letter had represented. But at the end of Pompey's letter there was a sentence in his own handwriting: "I am of opinion that you should come to Luceria; you will not be safer anywhere else." The interpretation I put on this is that he considers the towns in this district and the sea-coast as abandoned, nor am I surprised at a man, who has given up the head, having no regard for the other limbs. I wrote back at once and sent the letter by one of my establishment upon whom I could rely, saying that I did not want to know where I should be safest: if he wished me to come to Luceria for his own sake or for that of the Republic, I would come at once; and I urged him to keep a hold upon the sea-coast, if he wished to be supplied with corn from the provinces. I see that it is no use my writing this. But as before in regard to keeping the city, so in regard to not abandoning Italy, I put my opinion on record. I perceive, indeed, that the plan is to concentrate all forces at Luceria, and even that not as a permanent centre, but that, if hard pressed, we are to abandon that also. You need not, therefore, be much surprised at my not being very enthusiastic about engaging in a cause, in which no provision has ever been sought for making peace or securing victory, but from the first for a discreditable and calamitous flight. I must go, to encounter any danger that chance

may bring with those who are *reputed* to be loyalists, rather than be thought to disagree with loyalists. Yet I foresee that before long the city will be crammed with the "loyalists," that is, the fine gentlemen and men of property—crammed chock full, indeed, when these municipal towns have been abandoned. And I would be in their number if I had not these confounded lictors. Nor should I be dissatisfied to have as my companions Manius Lepidus, L. Volcatius, and Servius Sulpicius: not one of them is a greater fool than L. Domitius, nor more of a weathercock than Appius Claudius. The one person who makes me hesitate is Pompey, not from his personal importance, but for old sake's sake. For what weight can he have in this controversy? When we were all alarmed at Cæsar, he, for his part, was devoted to him: now that he has begun to be alarmed at him, he thinks that everybody ought to be his enemy. However, I shall go to Luceria, and yet perhaps my arrival will not give him any satisfaction. For I shall not be able to conceal my disapproval of what has been done up to this time. If I could sleep I wouldn't have pestered you with such long letters. If you are similarly affected, pray pay me back in kind.

CCCXXVIII (A VIII, 12 c)

POMPEY TO L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS (IN CORFINIUM)

LUCERIA, 16 FEBRUARY

GNÆUS POMPEIUS, proconsul, salutes Lucius Domitius, proconsul. M. Calenius has brought me a despatch from you dated the 16th of February, in which you say that your intention is to watch Cæsar, and, if he commences his march upon me by the coast road, to come to me with speed into Samnium; but that, if he spends time about the towns in your district, you wish to resist him in case of his approach-

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ing you. I think your plan is spirited and gallant; but I am compelled to be more solicitous as to whether we may not, if divided, be unequal to our opponent; since he has large forces and is likely soon to have larger. For a man of your foresight ought not to reckon how many cohorts Cæsar has at this moment against you, but what amounts of infantry and cavalry he is likely to collect before long. This is proved in my eyes by a letter from Bussenius to me, in which he says—as I learn from other letters also—that Curio is drawing the garrisons in Umbria and Etruria together, and marching to join Cæsar. Now if all these forces are combined, even suppose a detachment is sent to Alba, and another threatens you, and though Cæsar should not offer battle, but should remain on the defensive in his own strongholds, you will still be at a stand, and will not be able, isolated with a force the size of yours, to offer a resistance to such vast numbers sufficient even to allow of your foraging for corn. Wherefore I strongly urge you to come here as soon as possible with your entire force. The consuls have decided to do so. I sent a message to you by M. Tuscilius to say that we must take care that the two legions should not, without the cohorts from Picenum, be allowed to come within sight of Cæsar.¹ Wherefore do not disturb yourself if you hear that I am making a backward movement,² should Cæsar chance to advance towards me; for I think I must by all means avoid being caught in the toils and prevented from stirring. For I cannot construct a camp owing to the season and the disposition of my soldiers, nor is it proper to call in the garrisons from all the towns, lest I should be left without a place of retreat. Accordingly, I have not mustered more than fourteen cohorts at Luceria. The consuls are about to bring in all garrisons to me, or are going to Sicily. For I must either have an army sufficiently strong to make me feel sure of being able to break out, or hold districts of such a kind as

¹ The two legions, of whose withdrawal from Cæsar on the plea of a Parthian war we have heard so much. Pompey fears that if they see their old *imperator* they will desert—a significant commentary on what he had been told and believed at the beginning of the year as to the disaffection of Cæsar's army.

² *I.e.*, in the direction of Brundisium.

to enable us to act on the defensive. At the present time we have neither, for Cæsar has occupied a large part of Italy, and we have an army neither as well-appointed nor as large as he has. We must therefore be careful and look to the main interests of the Republic. I urge on you again and again to come to me at the earliest opportunity with your whole force. We may even now restore the fortunes of the state, if we conduct our operations in common: if we are divided we shall be weak. I am quite satisfied of this.

After I had written the above, Sicca brought me a despatch and message from you. You urge me to come to you: I do not think that I can do so, because I don't feel great confidence in these legions.¹

CCCXXIX (A VIII, 12 d)

POMPEY TO L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS (IN
CORFINIUM)

LUCERIA, 17 FEBRUARY

I RECEIVED a despatch from you on the 17th of February, in which you say that Cæsar has pitched his camp near Corfinium. What I thought and warned you of is now taking place, namely, that at present he would not give you battle, and yet would hem you in by concentrating all his forces, to prevent the road to me being open to you, and your being able to unite your troops, formed of the strongest loyalists, with the legions of whose fidelity we are doubtful. I am therefore all the more disturbed by your letter. For I am not sufficiently confident in the good disposition of the soldiers, whom I now have with me, to risk a battle involving the safety of the state, nor have the levies made by the consuls as yet come in. Wherefore do your best, if it is still by any means possible, to extricate yourself, and

¹ The two Cæsarian legions, as above.

come here as soon as you can, before our opponent is joined by all his forces. For it is neither possible for the new levies to arrive here quickly, nor, if they had arrived, can it escape your observation how impossible it is to trust men, who are not even acquainted with each other, against veteran legions.¹

CCCXXX (A VIII, 12 a)

POMPEY TO THE CONSULS

LUCERIA, 17 FEBRUARY

GNÆUS MAGNUS, proconsul, greets the consuls, C. Marcellus and L. Lentulus. Being of opinion that if we were scattered we could neither be of service to the state, nor protect ourselves, I sent a despatch to L. Domitius that, if possible, he should join me with all his men, and that, if he felt doubtful about himself, he should send me the nineteen cohorts which were on the march to join me from Picenum.² What I feared has taken place: Domitius is surrounded, and is not in sufficient force to form a camp, because he has my nineteen and his own twelve cohorts distributed among three towns—for he has stationed some at Alba and some at Sulmo—and he cannot now extricate himself even if he wished. In these circumstances I am, I can assure you, in extreme anxiety. I am eager to relieve men who are so numerous and of such high position³ from the danger of a siege, and yet I cannot go to their assistance, because I do not think that we can trust these two legions to go there

¹ This seems to be the letter, the contents of which Domitius tried to conceal from his council and the army at Corfinium, pretending that Pompey had promised to come speedily to his relief. The soldiers and centurions detected the truth, and hastened to make terms with Cæsar. See Cæsar, *B. C. i.* 19-20.

² They had halted on the way at Corfinium.

³ Domitius had with him his son, five senators, with many young men of senatorial families, a large number of equites, and magistrates from neighbouring *municipia* (*Cæs. B. C. i.* 23).

—of whom, after all, I have not been able to keep together more than fourteen cohorts; for I have sent two to Brundisium, and I did not think that Canusium ought to be left in my absence without a garrison. / I had told Decimus Lælius to suggest to you, as I hope for an increase to my numbers, that one of you should join me, the other go to Sicily with the force you have collected at Capua and the neighbourhood of Capua, and the soldiers whom Faustus has recruited: that Domitius with his own twelve cohorts should form a junction with the same, and that all other forces of every description should muster at Brundisium, and be shipped thence to Dyrrachium. / But as it is, since at this juncture I cannot go, any more than you, to the relief of Domitius, he must extricate himself by crossing the mountains, and I must be careful not to allow the enemy to get near these fourteen cohorts, whose loyalty is doubtful, or to catch me up on the march. / Wherefore I have determined—and I find that Marcellus and other senators who are here agree with me—to march the force I have with me to Brundisium. I urge you to collect all the troops that you can collect, and come to me at Brundisium also as promptly as possible. I think you should use the arms, which you were intending to send to me, to arm the soldiers whom you have with you: if you will have all arms that may be to spare carted to Brundisium, you will have done the state excellent service. Please let my men know about this. I have sent word to the prætors P. Lupus and C. Coponius, to join you and take whatever men they have to you.

CCCXXXI (A VIII, 2)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 17 FEBRUARY

THANK you all round—both for writing to tell me the remarks you had heard, and for not believing what reflected upon my energy, and, lastly, for letting me know your

opinion. I wrote only one letter to Cæsar from Capua in answer to the remonstrance he addressed to me on the subject of his gladiators.¹ My letter was short but expressed in friendly terms. So far from containing any attack upon Pompey, it mentioned him in the most complimentary terms. This exactly corresponded with my sentiment in favour of his making terms with Pompey. If he has sent that letter anywhere, let him placard it for everyone to read with all my heart. I am writing a second letter to him on the same day as I write this to you. I cannot do otherwise than write, since he has written to me both by his own hand and by that of Balbus. I am sending you a copy of it. I don't think there is anything for you to find fault with. If there is, suggest how I am to escape criticism. "Don't write at all," you will say; "how better elude those who want to make up a story?" Well, I will follow your advice as long as it is possible. You exhort me to remember my deeds, words, and even my writings: it is truly friendly on your part, and I thank you warmly for it; but you appear to me to take a different view from mine as to what is right and suitable to my character in this controversy. For in my opinion nothing more discreditable was ever done in any nation by anyone professing to be a statesman and leader, than the course taken by our friend. I am sorry for him. He abandoned the city, that is, his country, for which, and in which, it would have been a glorious thing to die. You don't seem to me to appreciate the magnitude of this disaster: for you are at this moment in your own town house. Yes, but you cannot remain there any longer except by the consent of the vilest of men. Can anything be more humiliating, more shameful than that? We are wandering about in distress with wives and children. All our hopes are dependent on the life of one man, who has a dangerous illness every year. We are not expelled, but summoned from our country, which we have left not to be safe-guarded till our return, but to be plundered and fired. There are not so very many with me,² nor in suburban houses, nor sub-

¹ See p. 251.

² I have ventured to emend this difficult passage by writing *non ita multi* for *ita multi*. Cicero says the leading Pompeians, who ought to have defended the city, are all gone far away; there are not many left

urban parks, nor in the city itself—and if they are there now, they soon will not be. I meanwhile shall not stay even at Capua, but at Luceria, and shall, of course, abandon the care of the sea-coast at once. I shall wait to see what Afranius and Petreius do :¹ for Labienus lacks distinction. Here you will hint that that is just what you find lacking in me. I say nothing about myself. I will leave that to others. In these circumstances, indeed, where is it to be found? All you loyalists are sticking to your houses, and will do so. In the old times didn't every loyalist come forward to support me? Who does so now in this war, for so it must now be called? As yet Vibullius has covered himself with glory. You will learn all about that from Pompey's letter: in which please notice the passage at which you will find a mark of attention (<). You will see what Vibullius himself thinks about our friend Gnæus. What, then, is the point of all this talk? Why, I am capable of dying cheerfully for Pompey: I value him more than anyone in the world. But, for all that, I do not think that all hope for the Republic is centred in him. You express an opinion also considerably different from your usual one, that I must even quit Italy if he does so: a step which, in my judgment, is of advantage neither to the Republic nor to my children, and, what is more, neither right nor morally justifiable. But why do you say, "Will you be able to endure the sight of a tyrant?" As though it mattered whether I heard of him or saw him; or as though I needed to look for any better precedent than that of Socrates, who at the time of the Thirty never set foot out of the city gate. I have personally also a special motive for remaining, concerning which I wish to heaven I might

even near him at Formiæ, or in suburban residences, much less in the city. I do not feel the difficulty as to the contradiction to Letter CCCXXVII, p. 273, where he says the *boni* will soon crowd into Rome. He is thinking of different things. In the other letter he was imagining the action of the lukewarm *boni*, who would soon be making submission to Cæsar: here he is thinking of the leading and sincere *boni*, who have yet shewn (as he thinks) the white feather by seeking distant places of retirement. *Non ita multi* makes the sentence much easier, and is a favourite phrase of Cicero's.

¹ Two of Pompey's legates in Spain, whose resistance and submission to Cæsar this summer are described in the first book of Cæsar's "Civil War."

some time have a talk with you. After writing this on the 17th, by the same lamp as that in which I burnt your letter, I am leaving Formiæ to join Pompey, with some prospect of being of use if there is any question of peace, but if it is to be war—what good shall I be?

CCCXXXII (A VIII, 3)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CALES, 18-19 FEBRUARY

A PREY to the gravest and most depressing anxieties, though I am precluded from discussing the question with you personally, I have, nevertheless, resolved to seek your advice. The whole question in debate is this: if Pompey quits Italy, which I suspect that he is about to do, what do you think I ought to do? To assist you in giving me advice, I will state briefly what occurs to my mind on either side. [Pompey's, very great services in securing my restoration and the intimacy existing between us, as well as the interests of the Republic themselves, lead me to the conclusion that my policy or, if you choose, my fortune must be united with his.] Then there is this: if I stay here and desert that company of most loyal and illustrious citizens, I must come under the power of one man: and although he shews by many instances that he is well disposed to me—and you yourself know what precautions I took in that direction, because I suspected the storm that was hanging over our heads—yet I must look at the matter in two lights: first, how far I can trust him; and, secondly, however certain I may be that he will be my friend, whether it is the action of a brave man and a good citizen to remain in a city, in which, after having enjoyed the highest offices and commands, after having performed the most important services, and been invested with the most august priesthood, he is to become a mere name,¹

¹ *Nomen futurum*, for *non futurum*. The abbreviation of *non* and *nomen* would be very nearly the same. Still, the emendation is far

and to incur danger, not perchance unaccompanied by some disgrace, if Pompey ever restores the constitution. So much for that side. Now for the other. Our friend Pompey has shewn neither wisdom nor courage in anything that he has done: I may add that he has acted in every case against my counsel and advice. I put out of the question the old scores: how he fostered Cæsar against the Republic, promoted, armed him; assisted him in the passing of laws by violence and against the auspices; supported the addition of farther Gaul to his provinces; married his daughter; acted as augur at the adoption of Publius Clodius; shewed greater zeal in effecting my recall than in preventing my exile; supported the extension of Cæsar's provincial government; championed his cause at every point in his absence; actually in his third consulship, when he started being a defender of the constitution, yet urged the ten tribunes to propose the bill allowing Cæsar's candidature in his absence; confirmed the same privilege in a certain law of his own, and resisted the consul Marcus Marcellus when he proposed to fix the end of Cæsar's government on the 1st of March.¹ Well, to pass over all this, what could be more discreditable, more ill-considered, than this departure from the city, or I should rather call it this most shameful, most unprincipled flight? What terms could there be that were not preferable to the abandonment of one's country? The terms offered were bad. I confess it: but could anything be worse than this? But (you say) he will recover the Republic. When? What preparation has been made for realizing that hope? Is not Picenum lost? Is not the road to the city laid open? Is not all money, public and private, handed over to his opponent? In fact, there is no cause to support, no forces to support it, no rallying point for those who wish the constitution maintained. Apulia has been selected, the most sparsely peopled district of Italy, and the most widely removed from the point of attack in this war: it is evident that, from sheer desperation, the object in view is flight and the facilities of a sea-coast. I undertook Capua with

from certain. Another is *non futurus sit sui iuris*, "not even his own master," "a slave."

¹ M. Marcellus, consul B.C. 51.

reluctance, not because I desired to shirk that duty, but because it was in a cause in which there was no openly expressed grievance on the part of the orders in the state or of private individuals, though there *was* some—far from keen, as usual—on the part of the Optimates; and because, as I saw for myself, the multitude and the lowest of the people were inclined to the other side, while many were eager simply for change. I told Pompey himself that I would undertake no duty without a guard and money. Accordingly, I had practically nothing to do at all, because, from the first, I saw that his sole object was flight. If I am to follow that flight now, whither am I to go? Not with him; for when I started to join him, I learnt that Cæsar was in such a position that I could not reach Luceria safely.¹ I should have to sail by the Mare Inferum, without definite direction and in the worst possible weather. Again, am I to take my brother, or only my son without him, or how? Either alternative involves very great difficulty, and the keenest distress of mind. Again, what kind of attack will *he* employ against us and our property in our absence? Something more violent than in the case of others, for he will perhaps think that he has a chance of winning popularity by damaging us. Consider, again, these fetters—I mean my laurelled *fascæ*—what a nuisance to carry them out of Italy! Moreover, what place, even suppose I enjoy a calm passage, will be safe for me till I reach Pompey? By what route, again, or whither to go, I have no idea.

If, on the other hand, I keep my ground and find some footing on this side, I shall have done what L. Philippus did during the tyranny of Cinna, as well as L. Flaccus and Q. Mucius. Though it turned out unhappily in the case of the latter,² he used, nevertheless, to say that he foresaw the result (a result which did actually happen), but preferred it to approaching the walls of his native city in arms. Thrasybulus³ acted differently and perhaps better. But yet there

¹ Though Cicero had told Pompey that his personal safety did not affect the question! (Letter CCCXXVII, p. 272.)

² Q. Mucius Sævola (the younger) was put to death by the younger C. Marius B.C. 82. See p. 349.

³ Who retired from Athens during the time of the Thirty, and returned with a force collected at Pylæ to free his country, B.C. 404-3.

are good grounds for Mucius's line of policy and opinion, as well as for that of the other, namely, to temporize, when necessary, and not to let slip an opportunity when it is given. But even if I adopt this course, those same *fascēs* involve a difficulty. For suppose he is my friend, which is uncertain, but suppose he is, he will offer me the triumph. Not to accept I fear will get me into trouble with him, to accept I fear will appear scandalous to the loyalists. "What a difficult and insoluble problem!" you say. And yet I must solve it. For what can possibly be done else? Don't think me more inclined to remain, because I have used more words on that side. It may very well be, as happens in many investigations, that one side has the superiority in words, the other in truth. Wherefore please give me your advice, on the understanding that I am considering a most important matter with impartiality. There is a vessel at Caieta ready for me, and another at Brundisium. But here come couriers, as I am in the act of writing these words at Cales before daybreak: here comes a letter stating that Cæsar has reached Corfinium, that Domitius is inside Corfinium with a strong force eager to fight. I can't believe that our friend Gnæus will go so far as to abandon Domitius, though he has sent Scipio in advance to Brundisium with two cohorts, and has written to the consuls saying that he wishes the legion enrolled by Faustus to be taken to Sicily by a consul. But it will be shameful if Domitius is abandoned when imploring to be relieved. There is a certain hope, no great one in my mind, but warmly entertained in these parts, that Afranius has fought a battle with Trebonius in the Pyrenees; that Trebonius has been repulsed; that your friend Fadius¹ also has come over with his cohorts. The chief hope, however, is that Afranius is on his way hither with large forces. If that is the case, we shall perhaps stay in Italy. However, since Cæsar's line of march was uncertain, as he was thought to be intending to go either in the direction of Capua or Luceria, I am sending Lepta with a letter to Pompey, and am returning myself to Formiæ, to avoid falling in with anyone. I wished you to know this, and I am writing in a

¹ M. Fadius Gallus, one of Cæsar's legates.

somewhat quieter frame of mind than I mentioned just now : my object being not to put forward a judgment of my own, but to ask yours.

CCCXXXIII (A VIII, 11 c)

POMPEY TO CICERO (AT FORMIÆ)

CANUSIUM, 20 FEBRUARY

If you are well, I am glad. I was pleased to read your letter ; for I recognized your old gallantry still in defending the public safety. The consuls have joined my army in Apulia. I strongly urge you, in the name of your unique and unbroken zeal for the service of the state, to join us also, that by our united counsels we may support and aid the violated Republic. My opinion is that you should travel by the Appian road, and come with all speed to Brundisium.

CCCXXXIV (A VIII, 4)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 22 FEBRUARY (MORNING)

DIONYSIUS,¹ whom I look upon as your man rather than mine—for though I knew very well what his character was, I yet stood by your judgment rather than my own—without any respect even for your recommendation several times repeated in my hearing, has given himself airs in view of

¹ Cicero's freedman Dionysius (of whom we often hear) had apparently declined to come to Formiæ to continue his duties as tutor to the young Ciceros, and Cicero thinks he has done so rudely, and from a dislike to serve a ruined man.

what he thinks will be the state of my fortune. The course of that fortune, however, as far as it can be affected by human wisdom, I shall pilot with a certain amount of skill. What honour, what consideration, what recommendation even to others (the contemptible fellow!) has he not had at my hands? Why, I even preferred to have my judgment attacked by my brother Quintus, and by the world in general, rather than not praise him to the skies: and that my young Ciceros should have some supplementary lessons from myself, rather than look out for another master for them. Good heavens! what a letter I wrote to him! what respect, what affection did it express! You would have said that it was an invitation addressed to a Dicæarchus or an Aristoxenus, not to the greatest windbag and the worst teacher in the world. "But he has a good memory." He shall find I have a better! He answered my letter in a tone which I never used to anyone whose case I declined. Why, I always used to say, "If I can," "If I am not prevented by a previous engagement": I never had a defendant so low, so mean, so clearly guilty, so utterly a stranger to myself, that I refused him with the abruptness which he has used without disguise or reserve to me. I never saw such gross ingratitude, a vice which embraces every other. But enough and to spare about him. I have a vessel ready: yet I wait for a letter from you, to know what answer it will contain to the case I put to you for advice. You are aware that at Sulmo Gaius Attius, the Pæignian, has opened the gates to Antony, though there were five cohorts there, and that Q. Lucretius has escaped from the town;¹ that Gnæus is on his way to Brundisium; that Domitius² has been abandoned. It is all over.

¹ Caesar (*B. C. i.* 18) says that the Sulmonians insisted on joining him, but were for a time prevented by Q. Lucretius and Attius Pæignus. Lucretius escaped, but Attius was captured.

² The name is not in the text of the MSS., but I think the sentence in Letter CCCXXXIII (*Att. viii.* 3, § 7), *sed turpe Domitium deserui implorantem eius auxilium*, makes the emendation almost certain. When Cicero writes letters one after the other so quickly the same words and expressions continually recur.

CCCXXXV (A VIII, 5)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 22 FEBRUARY (EVENING)

HAVING written you a letter before daybreak of the 22nd about Dionysius, on the evening of the same day Dionysius himself arrived, induced by your influence, I suspect. For what else am I to think? However, it is his way to repent when he has done anything intemperate: and he never was more insane than in this business. For—a circumstance I did not mention to you before—I heard afterwards that at the third milestone from the city he took fright, after

“Venting his horns’ vain fury on the air,”¹

I mean, after uttering a number of curses, which, as the saying is, I hope may come home to roost! But see what a good-natured man I am! I put into the packet along with the letter to you one addressed to him, written with great warmth: this I should like returned to me, and for that sole reason I have sent my body-servant Pollix to Rome. I am therefore writing to you that, if it has by any chance been delivered to you, you would take care to have it sent back to me, lest it should come into his hands. If there had been any news I would have written it. I am in anxious suspense as to the affair at Corfinium, which will decide the fate of the Republic. Pray see that the packet addressed to Manius Curius is conveyed to him, and recommend Tiro to Curius, and ask him to supply him with any money he requires.

¹ πολλὰ μάτην κεράσσιν ἐς ἡέρα θυμήναντα. The author is unknown.

CCCXXXVI (A VIII, 6)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 23 FEBRUARY

WHEN I had already sealed the letter to you which I intended to despatch over night, as I did—for it was written in the evening—C. Sosius, the prætor, came to Formiæ on a visit to my neighbour Manius Lepidus, whose quæstor he once was. He brought me a copy of Pompey's letter to the consuls.

I have received a despatch from L. Domitius on the 17th of February. I append a copy. Now, without my saying a word, I know you understand of your own accord how important it is to the Republic that all troops should be concentrated in one place at the earliest possible time. Pray, if you think it right, make an effort to join me as early as possible, and leave a garrison for Capua of such strength as you may determine to be sufficient.

Then he added a copy of Domitius's letter, which I sent yesterday. Good heavens! how I trembled with excitement! How anxious I am as to what is going to happen. Yet I do hope that Magnus will justify his name in the terror he inspires when he arrives. I have even some hope that, as carelessness and negligence have been our only stumbling-block at present, operations will now be conducted with courage and due attention.¹

One thing, by Hercules, has given me pleasure. I have recently heard that the quartan fever has left you. Upon my life, I could not have been more glad if it had happened to me. Tell Pilia that it is not fair for her to have her fever any longer; it is a reflexion on your perfect sympathy! I hear that Tiro has got rid of his second attack. But I see that he has raised money for his expenses from others;

¹ The words of the text are quite corrupt. This sentence only attempts to conjecture the general sense.

whereas I had asked Curius to supply him with what was necessary. I prefer to think Tiro's modesty in fault rather than the illiberality of Curius.

CCCXXXVII (A VIII, 7)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 23 FEBRUARY

THERE is only one thing left to complete our friend's disgrace—failure to relieve Domitius. "But nobody doubts that he intends going to his relief." I don't think he will. "Will he, then, abandon such an illustrious citizen, and those whom you know to be with him, and that when he himself has thirty cohorts?" Yes, he will, unless I am entirely mistaken. He has become alarmed beyond belief. He looks to nothing except flight; in which you think—for I see what your opinion is—that I ought to be his companion. I, however, know from whom to fly, but not whom to follow. As to my remark, which you praise and declare to be memorable, that I preferred defeat with Pompey to victory with those others, it is quite true: I do prefer it—but it is with the Pompey as he was then, or as I thought him. But with a Pompey who flies before he knows from whom he is flying, or whither, who has betrayed our party, who has abandoned his country, and is about to abandon Italy—if I did prefer it, I have got my wish: I am defeated. For the rest, I cannot stand the sight of what I never had any fear of seeing, nor of the man on whose account I have to give up not only my friends, but my own past. I have written to Philotimus about furnishing me with money for the journey, either from the Mint¹—for no one pays ready money now—or from your comrades the Oppii.²

¹ Moneta, the temple of Iuno Moneta, in which was the Mint, where coined money could be purchased for bullion.

² See p. 249.

CCCXXXVIII (A VIII, 8)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 24 FEBRUARY

WHAT a disgraceful and, for that reason, what a miserable thing! For, in my opinion, that which is disgraceful is ultimately, or rather is alone, miserable. He had fostered Cæsar, and then, all on a sudden, had begun to be afraid of him: he had declined any terms of peace: he had made no preparation for war: he had abandoned the city: he had lost Picenum by his own fault: he had blocked himself up in Apulia: he was preparing to go to Greece: he was going to leave us without a word, entirely uninformed of a move on his part so important and so unprecedented. Lo and behold, there is suddenly sprung on us a letter from Domitius to him, and one from him to the consuls. I thought honour had flashed before his eyes, and that he—the real man he ought to be—had exclaimed:

“So let them try each sleight they may against me,
And every craft their cunning can devise:
The right is on my side.”¹

But our hero, bidding a long good-bye to honour, takes himself to Brundisium, while Domitius, they say, and those with him, on hearing of this, surrendered. What a lamentable thing! Distress prevents my writing any more to you. I wait for a letter from you.

¹ A fragment of Euripides, parodied by Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 659.

CCCXXXIX (A VIII, 9)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 25 FEBRUARY

You say my letter has been widely published: well, I don't care. Nay, I myself allowed several people to take a copy of it. For such is the nature of events that have already happened and are about to happen, that I wished my sentiments as to keeping the peace to be put on record. Now, while exhorting Cæsar of all people to keep it, I could see no better way of influencing him than by saying that it was suitable to his wisdom. If I called that wisdom "admirable," seeing that I was urging him to the preservation of our country, I am not afraid of being thought guilty of flattery, when for such an object I would gladly have thrown myself at his feet. Where, again, my expression is "bestow some of your time"—that does not refer to peace, but it is a request to him to reflect in some degree on my own case and on my obligations. As to my protesting that I have taken no part in the war, though that has been proved by facts, yet I mentioned it that my persuasions might have the greater weight, and my expressing approval of his claim has the same object. But what is the use of discussing this now? I only wish it had done any good! Nay, I should not object to have the letter read in public meeting, since Pompey himself, when also writing to Cæsar, put up for public perusal the despatch in which are the words "Considering the extraordinary brilliancy of your achievements." What! more brilliant than his own, or those of Africanus? "Circumstances made it necessary to say so." Well, since two men of your character are going to meet him at the fifth milestone,¹ pray, to what does he pledge himself, what is he doing or going to do? With what

¹ That is, in the complimentary procession to meet Cæsar on his coming to Rome—the usual custom in respect to returning governors. See p. 234.

greater confidence will he rely upon the merits of his case, when he sees you, and men like you, not only in crowds, but with smiles on your faces, and congratulations on your lips? "Are we, then, doing wrong?" Not at all, as far as you are concerned. Yet, nevertheless, there is an end of all distinguishing between the signs of genuine and pretended feeling. What decrees of the senate do I foresee!—But I have spoken more openly than I intended.

I mean to be at Arpinum on the 28th, then to go the round of my country houses, which I have no hope of ever seeing again. Your "frank" policy—which is yet not without a spice of caution to suit the times—has my warm approbation. Lepidus, for his part—for we spend almost every day together, much to his gratification—never liked the idea of leaving Italy, Tullus much less. For letters from him frequently pass from others to me. But it is not so much their opinions that move me: for they have given much fewer pledges to the Republic than I have: it is your influence, by Hercules, that has the greatest weight with me; for it suggests a means of retrieving the past and of securing the present. But I appeal to you: what could be more wretched than that the one gains applause in the worst possible cause, the other nothing but anger in the best? That the one is esteemed the preserver of his enemies, the other the betrayer of his friends? And, by heaven, however much I love our Gnæus, as I do and am bound to do, yet I cannot commend him for failing to relieve such men. For if it was fear, what could be more cowardly? If, as some think, it was because he thought that his own position would be improved by their massacre, what could be more unfair? But a truce to these reflexions: I only increase my grief by recalling them.

On the evening of the 24th Balbus the younger called on me, hastening on a secret mission to the consul Lentulus from Cæsar, with a letter, a message, and a promise of a province, to induce him to return to Rome. I don't think he will be persuaded except by a personal interview. Balbus also told me that Cæsar wished, above all things, to catch up Pompey (I believe that much), and to be reconciled to him. This latter I do not believe, and I much fear that all this clemency is only an elaborate preparation for a Cinna-

like massacre. The elder Balbus, indeed, writes me word that Cæsar would wish nothing better than to live in safety, with Pompey as chief citizen. You believe that, I suppose!

But while I am writing these words (25th February), Pompey may have reached Brundisium; for he started in light marching order in advance of his legions on the 19th, from Luceria. But this portent is a man of frightful vigilance, rapidity, and energy. I haven't an idea what will happen.

CCCXL (A VIII, 10)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 26 FEBRUARY

WHEN Dionysius, much to my surprise, arrived at my house, I spoke to him with the utmost candour. I put before him my circumstances; asked him what he had in his mind to do: said that I would not press him for anything against his will. He answered that he did not know where such money as he possessed was to be found. Some could not pay, from others it was not yet due. He gave me certain other reasons, connected with his poor slaves, for his being unable to stay with me. I gave in to him. I discharged him from farther attendance, with regret as a master for the boys, but with satisfaction as an ungrateful fellow. I wished you to know the facts, and what my opinion of his conduct was.

CCCXLI (A VIII, 11)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 27 FEBRUARY

You think me thoroughly upset by a violent mental struggle. I am so, indeed, but not by one so violent as you perhaps imagine. For all my anxiety is lightened as soon as I have

either made up my mind, or found on reflexion that a solution is impossible. However, one may express regret. Well, I do so, after all, from one day's end to another. But considering the uselessness of this, I dread being an absolute discredit to my philosophy and my writings: I therefore spend all my time in considering what the virtue of that ideal character is, which, according to you, I have delineated in my books¹ with considerable care. Do you remember, then, that ideal "director of the commonwealth" to whom we would refer all questions? In the fifth book, I think it is, Scipio thus speaks: "*For as the object of a pilot is a successful voyage, of a physician bodily health, of a commander victory, so the object of such a director of the commonwealth is the happiness of the citizens, that it should be secure in means of defence, opulent in material resources, splendid in reputation, untarnished in its virtue. For my idea of him is that he should carry to perfection the work which is the greatest and best among men.*"

Such a conception never occurred to our friend Gnæus in former times, and least of all in this controversy. Supremacy has been the object of both; there has been no idea of securing the happiness and virtue of the citizens. Nor, indeed, did he abandon the city because he was unable to protect it, nor Italy because he was driven from it; but his idea from the first was to stir up every land and sea, to rouse foreign princes, to bring barbarous tribes in arms into Italy, to collect the most formidable armies possible. For some time past a kind of royalty like Sulla's has been the object in view, and this is the eager desire of many who are with him. Do you suppose that some understanding between the two, some bargain has been impossible? To-day it is still possible. But the object of neither is our happiness: both want to be kings. This brief exposition of the situation I have made in response to your invitation: for you wished me to explain to you my sentiments as to these unhappy circumstances. I speak "prophetically," then, my dear Atticus, not in vague denunciation like hers, whom no one believed, but foreseeing in imagination:

¹ The *de Republica*. He proceeds to quote his description of the ideal statesman.

"E'en now upon the mighty deep, etc."¹

What I can prophesy, I repeat, is much the same: such an Iliad of miseries is there hanging over our heads. Besides, my position is worse than that of those who have crossed the sea with Pompey in this, that they fear one or the other; I fear both. "Why have I stayed, then?" you will say. From obedience to you, if you like, or from failing to meet him in person, or because it was a juster course. You will see, I tell you, our poor Italy trodden under foot next summer, or in the hands of the slaves² of both leaders gathered from the four corners of the earth. It is not a proscription (which is said to have been frequently threatened in the talk at Luceria) that is so much to be feared, as a general destruction: so vast are the forces which I see will take part in the conflict on both sides. That's my conjecture of what is to happen. But you perhaps looked for something consoling from me. I can find nothing of the sort. Nothing can exceed the misery, ruin, and disgrace. You ask me what Cæsar said in his letter to me. The usual thing: he was much obliged by my having remained neutral, and begged me to continue to do so. The younger Balbus brought me a message to the same effect. The latter was

¹ From the *Alexander* of Ennius—Cassandra's prophecy (Vahlen, *Fr.* 87):

*Iamque mari magno classis cita
texitur, exitium examen rapit:
adveniet: fera velivolantibus
navibus complebit manus litora.*

"E'en now upon the mighty deep
Swift ships are building, soon to sweep—
Laden with death and swarming hordes
Of foemen—on the doomed sea-boards.
A cruel host shall fill the shore
With ships that fly by sail and oar."

² *In mancipiis*. I don't think there is need to object to this, as Tyrrell and Purser do. Of course, Cicero would not seriously call the chief followers of Pompey and Cæsar "slaves," but he is thinking of the foreign auxiliaries, Pompey's from the East, Cæsar's from Gaul. There is some petulant exaggeration in the word, though not more than is natural in Cicero's frame of mind. Compare his description of Antony's proceedings in Italy in B.C. 49-48, 2 *Phil.* § 57, and his employment of a guard of Ilyreans, *ib.* § 19.

on his way to visit the consul Lentulus with a letter from Cæsar, and promises of rewards if he would return to Rome. But, when I calculate the days, I think he will have crossed over before he could be met by Balbus. I wished you to appreciate the slovenly style of Pompey's two letters sent to me, and my great care in writing my answer. I am sending you copies of them. I am anxious to see what this dash of Cæsar's upon Brundisium through Apulia accomplishes. Oh that it might turn out something like the Parthian affair!¹ As soon as I hear anything I will let you know: on your part, pray let me know what the loyalists are saying; I hear there are crowds of them at Rome. I know, of course, that you don't go abroad;² still you must hear a great deal. I remember a book being brought you by Demetrius of Magnesia, dedicated to you, "On Concord."³ Please send it to me. You see in what direction my thoughts are turning.

CCCXLII (A VIII, II d)

TO POMPEY (AT BRUNDISIUM)

FORMIÆ, 27 FEBRUARY

WHEN I sent you the letter which was delivered to you at Canusium, I had no idea that you were about to cross the sea in the service of the Republic, and I was in great hopes that we might eventually be able, while in Italy, to effect an arrangement—the most advantageous thing of all in my opinion—or to defend the Republic without the least loss of dignity. Meanwhile, before my letter could have reached you, being informed of your design from your message sent through Decimus Lælius to the consuls, I did not wait for a letter from you to reach me, but with all promptitude began my journey to join you in Apulia with my brother Quintus and our sons. When I had reached Teanum Sidicinum

¹ *I.e.*, as abortive as that movement. See p. 270.² See p. 279. ³ Letter CXXIII, vol. I., p. 254.

your intimate friend Gaius Messius, and several others besides, told me that Cæsar was on his march to Capua, and was going to halt that very day at Æsernia. I was much disturbed, because, if that were so, I thought not only that my journey was barred, but that I myself was fairly caught. So I went no farther than Cales at that time, intending to wait there, rather than elsewhere, till something certain was reported to me from Æsernia in regard to this information. But at Cales a copy of your letter to Lentulus, the consul, was brought to me. The substance of this was that you had received a despatch from L. Domitius on the 17th of February, a copy of which you appended, and added that it was of the utmost importance to the state, that all forces should concentrate in one place as early as possible, and that he should leave a sufficient garrison at Capua. When I read this letter I thought, and everybody else agreed with me, that you were about to proceed in full force to Corfinium, to which place, since Cæsar was encamped against it, I did not think that there was a safe road for me. Whilst waiting in the greatest suspense for farther news, I heard two items of intelligence at the same time—what had happened at Corfinium, and that you had commenced your march to Brundisium: and though neither I nor my brother had any hesitation as to hurrying on to Brundisium, we were warned by many coming from Samnium and Apulia to be on our guard against being intercepted by Cæsar, since, having started for the same district as that to which we were going, he was likely to arrive at his destination even quicker than we could. That being the case, neither I nor my brother, nor any of our friends, thought it right by rashness on our part to run the risk of injuring not only ourselves, but the state also; especially as we felt sure that, even if the road proved safe to ourselves, we could not, after all, possibly catch you up so late as this. Meanwhile I received a letter from you dated Canusium, 20th of February, in which you urged me to make still more haste to Brundisium. As I received this on the 27th, I felt sure that you had already arrived at Brundisium, and I saw that the road there was entirely closed to us, and that we were as completely prisoners as those at Corfinium. For I do not count as prisoners those only who have fallen into the hands

of armed men, but those also quite as much who, being barred from certain districts, find themselves between garrisons and within the lines of another.

That being so, my first and greatest desire would have been never to have been separated from you, and, indeed, I shewed you my wish when I resigned the charge of Capua : which I did not do to escape a burden, but because I saw that that city could not be held without troops, and I did not wish to meet with the mischance which I grieve to see has befallen some very gallant gentlemen. Since, however, I had not the good fortune to be with you, would that I had been kept informed of your design ! For I could not possibly guess it, being always accustomed to think that the last thing in the world to happen would be that this cause of the Republic should fail in Italy, while we had you as our leader. Not, however, that I am now finding any fault with your policy, but I lament the fortune of the Republic ; and yet, if I fail to see your object, I do not on that account feel less certain that you have done nothing without the most careful calculation. I think you remember what my opinion has ever been, in the first place, as to maintaining peace at any price, however unfair ; in the second, as to the city—for as to *Italy*, you had never given me any indication of your purpose.

But I do not claim for myself that my policy ought to have prevailed : I followed yours, and that not only for the sake of the Republic—of which I despaired, and which has already been overthrown, and cannot be restored without a most mischievous civil war—but I wanted you : it was with you that I wished to be ; nor will I omit any opportunity of securing that, if any such occurs. I was quite aware that in the whole controversy I was failing to satisfy men who had set their hearts on war. For, in the first place, I openly avowed that I preferred peace to everything, not because I was not afraid of the same things as they were, but because I regarded them as less formidable than civil war. In the second place, after the war had begun, when I saw that conditions of peace were being offered you, and a conciliatory and liberal answer was being returned by you to those proposals, I took my special case into consideration, a consideration which I thought in view of your kindness to me

I should have no difficulty in justifying in your eyes. For I remembered that I was the one man who, in return for the most eminent services to the state, had suffered the most afflicting and cruel punishment; the one man who, if I offended *him*—to whom, in spite of our being actually in arms, a second consulship and a most splendid triumph was being offered—would be exposed to the same contests as before: for my person seems ever to present a favourite mark for the attacks of disloyal citizens. Nor were my suspicions premature: threats of this sort have been openly made to me: and I was not so much afraid of them, if I had to face them, as convinced that I ought to avoid them, if that could be done with honour.

You have now a *resumé*, as brief as possible, of my policy during the time that there was any hope of peace: for the time following events made me powerless. But I have an easy answer to those who find fault with me. I have never been more devoted to Cæsar than they, nor they more devoted to the Republic than I. The difference between them and me is this: while they are loyal citizens, and I deserve the same honourable title, I wished the controversy settled by diplomacy (as I know you did too), they wished it settled by arms. But since the latter method has won the day, I will take care that the Republic shall not miss in me the spirit of a citizen, nor you that of a friend.

CCCXLIII (F VIII, 15)

M. CÆLIUS RUFUS TO CICERO (AT FORMIÆ)

NORTH ITALY, FEBRUARY (LATE)

DID you ever see a more futile person than your friend Pompey, for having stirred up all this dust, without any stuff in him, after all? And, on the other hand, did you ever read or hear of anyone prompter in action than our Cæsar, and more moderate in victory? Why! Do you think that our soldiers, who in the most inclement and frozen dis-

tricts, in the severest winter weather, have successfully finished a war at a walk, have been fed on the pick of the orchard?¹ "What, then," say you, "is it all glory with you?" Nay, if you only knew how anxious I am, you would laugh at this glory of mine, which, after all, has nothing to do with me. I can't explain matters to you unless we meet, and I hope that will soon take place. For as soon as he has driven Pompey out of Italy, Cæsar has resolved to summon me to Rome: and I look upon that as good as done, unless Pompey has preferred being besieged in Brundisium. Upon my life, the chief motive I have for hurrying there is my ardent desire to see you and impart all my thoughts. And what a lot I have! Goodness! I am afraid that, as usual, I shall forget them all when I do see you. But what have I done to be obliged to retrace my steps to the Alps? It is all because the Intemelii² are in arms, and that on some trumpery excuse. Bellienus, a slave of Demetrius, who was commanding a garrison there, seized one Domitius—a man of rank and a friend of Cæsar's—for a bribe, and strangled him. The tribe rushed to arms: and I have got to go there with my cohorts over the snow. All over the world, say you, the Domitii are coming to grief. I could have wished that our descendant of Venus had shewn as much resolution in the case of your Domitius,³ as the son of Psecas⁴ did in this one. Give my love to your son.

¹ *I.e.*, on dainties, lit. "round apples."

² The people who have left their name in Ventimiglia.

³ L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who surrendered to Cæsar at Corfinium, but was allowed to depart unharmed.

⁴ Apparently a slave, mother of Bellienus.

CCCXLIV (A VIII, 12)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 28 FEBRUARY

THE inflammation in my eyes is somewhat more troublesome even than before. However, I preferred dictating this letter to letting Fadius Gallus, who is a very affectionate friend of us both, have no line to deliver to you. Yesterday, indeed, I wrote with my own hand, as best I could, the letter whose prophecy I hope may be falsified. The motive, however, of the present letter is not only to prevent any day passing without writing to you, but the more reasonable one of inducing you to devote a little time to me. It won't take you long, and so I do much wish to have your view explained to me in such a way, that I may thoroughly understand it. I have not yet committed myself in any respect. I have been guilty of no omission which does not admit of a sound, not merely a plausible, excuse. For certainly I did not make a mistake when I refused to accept the charge of Capua without a garrison, in my wish to escape not only the crime of failure, but the suspicion of treachery as well ; nor when, after the terms had been brought by L. Cæsar and Fabatus,¹ I was careful not to offend a man to whom Pompey was offering a consulship and triumph, though both were in arms. Nor, indeed, can anyone fairly find fault with my last step in not crossing the sea. For on this measure, though it was a thing to be considered, I have not had the opportunity of embarking. For I had no right to suspect what he was going to do, especially as from Pompey's own letter—as I see was your own opinion also—I felt no doubt of his intention to go to the relief of Domitius. In point of fact, I preferred to have a longer time to consider what was the right course and what I ought to do. First of all, then, I wish you would write

¹ The prætor L. Roscius Fabatus (Cæs. B. C. i. 3).

and tell me more distinctly—though you have already made it pretty clear—what you think of all this ; and, secondly, that you would look into the future and give me a sketch of what you think ought to be my *role*, and where you think I could be of most service to the Republic ; whether a pacific part is required, or whether everything depends on a man of war. And, indeed, though my standard is always duty, I yet remember the advice you once gave me, which, if I had followed, I should not have endured the sad disaster of that crisis in my life. I remember what you urged me to do on that occasion through Theophanes, through Culleo, and I have often recalled it with a sigh. Therefore let me at last revert to the calculation, which I then rejected, and see how I may follow a course which will not simply aim at glory, but will conduce somewhat more to my safety also. But I make no stipulation with you. I want you to write me your opinion in plain terms. I want you also to investigate with all the diligence you can—and you will have men through whom you can do so—what our friend Lentulus and Domitius are doing or intending to do, what their present bearing is, whether they find fault with anyone, or are angry with anyone. Why do I say “anyone”? I mean, of course, Pompey. Certainly Pompey lays all the blame on Domitius, as may be seen in his letter, of which I send you a copy. These things, then, be so good as to look into, and, as I asked you in a previous letter, send me the book “On Concord,” by Demetrius of Magnesia, which he sent you.

CCCXLV (A VIII, 15 a)

L. CORNELIUS BALBUS TO CICERO (AT FORMIÆ)

ROME, FEBRUARY

I ENTREAT you, my dear Cicero, to undertake a task and a project in the highest degree worthy of your high character—to recall Cæsar and Pompey to their former cordiality,

who have been alienated by the treachery of others. Believe me, Cæsar will not only put himself in your hands, but will also consider himself under the deepest obligation to you, if you throw yourself into this task. I wish Pompey would do the same, but that he can at this time of day be induced to accept any terms is rather a matter for wishes than hopes. But when he has recovered from his agitation and alarm, I shall begin to have some hope that your influence with him may prove to be of the greatest avail. In having expressed a wish that my friend the consul Lentulus should remain at Rome you have obliged Cæsar, and, believe me, myself also in the highest degree. For I value him so greatly, that he holds as high a place in my regard as Cæsar himself: and if he had only allowed me to talk with him as usual, and had not again and again shewed himself wholly averse from conversation with me, I should have been less unhappy than I am. For you must not suppose that anyone at this crisis is more painfully affected than I am by seeing a man, whom I love more than myself, resolved in his consulship to be anything in the world rather than a consul. If he will only deign to take your advice and to believe us in regard to Cæsar, and to serve the rest of his consulship at Rome, I shall even begin to hope that by the advice of the senate—acting at your suggestion, and with him to bring the matter formally before it—Pompey and Cæsar may be reconciled. If that is done, I shall think that I have not lived in vain. I feel sure that you will entirely approve of what Cæsar did about Corfinium. Considering the circumstances, nothing better could have occurred than a settlement being made without a drop of blood. I am much gratified by the pleasure you express at the visit of my dear (and your dear) Balbus. Whatever Balbus has told you about Cæsar, and whatever Cæsar has written, I am sure the latter will convince you by his acts—whatever measure of success he may have—that he has written with the most absolute sincerity.

CCCXLVI (A IX, 7 c)

CÆSAR TO C. OPPIUS AND CORNELIUS
BALBUS (AT ROME)

ARPI, 1 MARCH

I AM very glad that your letter expresses such strong approval of what happened at Corfinium. I shall be glad to follow your advice, and all the more so, that I had spontaneously resolved to display the greatest clemency and to do my best to reconcile Pompey. Let us try in this way if we can recover the affections of all parties, and enjoy a lasting victory ; for others, owing to their cruelty, have been unable to avoid rousing hatred, or to maintain their victory for any length of time, with the one exception of Lucius Sulla, whom I have no intention of imitating. Let this be our new method of conquering—to fortify ourselves by mercy and generosity. As to how that may be secured, certain ideas suggest themselves to my mind, and many more may be hit upon. I beg you to take these matters into consideration. I have taken Pompey's prefect Numerius Magius. Of course I kept to my policy, and caused him at once to be set at liberty. I have now had two of Pompey's prefects of engineers in my hands, and have set them both at liberty.¹ If they wish to be grateful, they will be bound to advise Pompey to prefer my friendship to that of the men who have ever been most bitterly hostile both to him and myself, by whose intrigues the Republic has been reduced to its present position.²

¹ L. Vibullius Rufus and Numerius Magius. The latter Cæsar employed to negotiate with Pompey at Brundisium (Cæs. B. C. i. 15, 24, 26).

² Cæsar dwells on this point, that Pompey was now joined with those who had been enemies to them both, in the B. C. i. 4, declaring that much of their enmity, as far as he was concerned, had been actually incurred by his union with Pompey.

CCCXLVII (A VIII, 13)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 1 MARCH

TAKE the handwriting of my secretary as a sign of my eyes being inflamed, and let the same fact excuse my brevity, though at this particular time I have nothing to write. We are hanging entirely on news from Brundisium. If Cæsar has caught our friend Gnæus, there is a dubious hope of peace; but if the latter has got across beforehand, there is a fear of a fatal war. But do you see upon what sort of man the Republic has fallen? How clear-sighted, how alert, how well prepared! By heaven, if he puts no one to death, nor despoils anyone of anything, he will be most adored by those who had feared him most. The burgesses of the country towns, and the country people also, talk a great deal to me. They don't care a farthing for anything but their lands, their poor villas, their paltry pence. And now observe the reaction: the man in whom they once trusted they now dread: the man they dreaded they worship. What grave mistakes and vices on our side are accountable for this I cannot think of without sorrow. However, I have already written to tell you what I thought was threatening; and I am now waiting for a letter from you.

CCCXLVIII (A VIII, 14)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 2 MARCH

I FEEL sure that my daily packets must bore you, especially as I don't inform you of anything new, nor, in fact, am able to hit upon any novel sentiment to express. But if I went

out of my way needlessly to send letter-carriers to you with these empty epistles, I should indeed be foolish: as it is, when people are going to Rome, especially people about the house, I cannot reconcile myself to sending nothing by way of a letter to you; and besides, believe me, I find a relief in a time of such unhappiness in, as it were, talking to you; and much more so when I read letters from you. I certainly feel it to be true that there has been no period since our panic flight that less demanded a continuance of our correspondence, because no news reaches either Rome or this place, which is only two or three days journey from Brundisium: whereas Brundisium is the cardinal point of the whole struggle in this first campaign. I am therefore racked with suspense about it. But we shall know all before the 15th. For I observe that Cæsar started from Corfinium on the afternoon of the same day—that is, the 21st of February—as that on the morning of which Pompey left Canusium. But Cæsar moves so rapidly, and encourages the speed of his men with such bounties, that I fear he may have approached Brundisium quicker than may be convenient. You will say, “What good, then, do you do by anticipating an annoyance, which you are to ascertain three days hence?” None indeed. But, as I said before, I like above all things talking to you, and at the same time I want to tell you that my plan of procedure, which I thought quite fixed, is somewhat shaken. The precedents,¹ of which you approve, don’t altogether satisfy me. For what gallant action on their part in the service of the state has there ever been? Or who expects anything praiseworthy from them? Nor, by heaven, do I see anything commendable in those who have crossed the sea to prepare a war, intolerable as things were here—for I foresee the extent and destructive nature of that war. But there is one man who shakes my resolution, whose companion in flight, whose partner in the recovery of the constitution, I think myself bound to be. “Do you change your opinion as often as that, then?” I speak to you as to myself: and who is there that in a matter of such importance does not argue with himself in a variety of ways? At the same time I also desire to elicit your opinion:

¹ M. Lepidus and L. Volcatius. See p. 336.

if it is the same, that I may be strengthened in my resolution ; if it has changed, that I may conform mine to yours. Certainly, in regard to my present doubt, it concerns me to know what Domitius and our friend Lentulus intend doing. As to Domitius, we hear contradictory rumours : at one time that he is at Tibur not by any means *leaping* for joy, at another that he, with the *Lepidi*, has come to the walls of the city, which also I find not to be true. For Lepidus says that he has made his way somewhere by secret roads—is it to hide himself or to reach the sea ?¹ Lepidus himself does not know. He knows nothing either about the younger Domitius. He adds a very annoying particular ; that a considerable sum of money which Domitius had at Corfinium had not been restored to him.² Of Lentulus I hear nothing. Please inquire into these matters, and report to me.

CCCXLIX (A VIII, 15)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 3 MARCH

ON the 3rd of March Ægypta³ delivered me your letters, one, an old one, dated 26th of February, which you say that you intrusted to Pinarius, whom I have not seen. In this you say that you are waiting to learn how Vibullius, who

¹ L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, after having been let go by Cæsar from Corfinium, seems to have set about preparations for taking possession of the province of farther Gaul, to which he had been nominated by the senate. He went first to his estates in Etruria and raised his servants and dependents to man a fleet collected at Cosa ; from that place he went to Marseilles—a free city, yet closely connected with the province—where his legal position was at once acknowledged, for the people of Marseilles had received additions of territory by Pompey's means and were determined to stand by him (Cæs. B. C. i. 34-36). For the younger Domitius, see p. 317.

² This turned out to be false. Cæsar says that, although he knew it was public money, he yet allowed Domitius to keep it (B. C. i. 23). It was 6,000 sester tia, or about £48,000.

³ A slave, afterwards a freedman, of Cicero's.

had been sent in advance, is getting on, who did not obtain an interview with Cæsar at all (I observe in your second letter that you are aware of this), and how I mean to receive Cæsar when he returns. I design to avoid meeting him at all. You mention also your intended retreat from Rome¹ and the change in your way of life, in the necessity of which I agree, and you say that you don't know whether Domitius retains his *fascēs*. When you know, please inform me.

So much for your first letter. There followed two, both dated the 28th of February, which completely dislodged me from my old resolve,² which, however, I told you was beginning to totter. I am not shaken by your expression, "incensed with Jove himself,"³ for there is danger in the angry passions of both; and though victory, of course, is uncertain, yet now the worse side seems to me to be the better prepared. Nor am I influenced by the consuls, who are themselves more easily moved than feather or leaf. Consideration of duty tortures me, and has all this while been torturing me, with indecision. To remain is certainly the more cautious policy, to cross the sea is considered the more honourable. Sometimes I prefer that many should think that I have acted incautiously, rather than a few think that I had acted dishonourably. You ask me about Lepidus and Tullus; they, indeed, have made up their minds to meet Cæsar at Rome, and to come into the senate.

Your most recent letter is dated on the 1st of March, in which you express a wish that there might be a meeting between them, and say that you do not despair of peace. But at the moment of writing I am of opinion that they will not meet, and that, if they do, Pompey will not yield to any offer of terms. You appear to have no doubt, if the consuls cross, what I ought to do. They are certainly going to cross, or rather, as a matter of fact, have already crossed. But remember that, with the exception of Appius,

¹ The text here is quite corrupt. The English is only a guess.

² To stay quietly in Italy. See last letter, p. 305.

³ Atticus seems to have said in his letter that Pompey would be angry with anyone who stayed in Rome when Cæsar came, "even with Jupiter Capitolinus himself" for not leaving his temple. Such an exaggerated way of expressing a strong feeling needs, perhaps, no explanation. But we may remember that the gods were supposed to quit a captured city.

there is hardly one who has not a legal right to cross. For they either have *imperium*, as Pompey, Scipio, Sufenas, Fannius, Voconius, Sestius, the consuls themselves—who have by immemorial custom the right to visit all provinces—or they are their legates. But I decide on nothing. As to what your opinion is, and pretty well what is the right course, I am clear. I would have written at greater length, if I had been able to do so with my own hand. But I think I shall be able to do so in a couple of days. I am sending you a copy of Cornelius Balbus's letter received on the same day as yours, that you may sympathize with me, when you see me treated with such mockery.

CCCL (A IX, 7 a)

L. CORNELIUS BALBUS AND GAIUS OPPIUS
TO CICERO (AT FORMIÆ)

ROME, 3 MARCH

To say nothing of humble people like ourselves, even in the case of the most important persons designs are generally judged by the majority of mankind by their result, and not their intention: yet, relying on your goodness of heart, we will offer you, on the point as to which you have written to us, the advice which seems to us to be the soundest; and if it is not sensible advice, yet it will at least proceed from absolute good faith and good feeling. If we knew from his own lips that Cæsar—as in our judgment we think he should do—would try directly he arrived in Rome to effect a reconciliation between himself and Pompey, we should urge you to resolve upon taking part in the negotiation, in order to facilitate and add an air of dignity to the business through the ties which bind you to both parties. Or if, on the contrary, we thought that Cæsar would not do so, and if we knew that he wished to go to war with Pompey, we would never persuade you to bear arms against a man who had done you very great services, just as we have ever begged you not to engage in a war against Cæsar. But since,

even now, what Cæsar intends doing is for us a matter of opinion rather than of knowledge, all we can say is this : we do not think it consistent with your position or your universally acknowledged good faith to bear arms against either one or the other, considering your intimate connexions with both ; and we have no doubt that Cæsar, with his usual kindness, will very warmly approve this course. However, if you wish it, we will write to Cæsar, and ask to be informed what he means to do in the circumstances. On receiving an answer from him, we will at once write and tell you what our sentiments are, and will convince you that we give you the advice which seems to us to conduce most to your own position, not to Cæsar's policy. And this we feel certain that Cæsar, with his usual liberality in making allowance for his friends, will approve.

CCCLI (A VIII, 16)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 4 MARCH

I HAVE provided for everything except a secret and safe journey to the Upper Sea. For I cannot venture upon this (Lower) Sea at this season of the year. But by what route am I to get to the place, on which my thoughts are set, and to which the circumstances of the case call me ? I must not delay my departure, lest anything should hinder it and tie me here. It is not, in truth, that man who attracts me, as is thought to be the case : I long ago knew him to be the most incapable of politicians, I now know him also to be the least capable of generals.¹ It is not he, therefore, that attracts me, but it is the common talk reported to me by Philotimus. He says I am being torn to pieces by the Optimates. Ye Gods ! Optimates indeed ! See how they are rushing to meet Cæsar, and parading their loyalty to him ! Why, the country towns are offering him prayers

¹ ἀπολιτικώτατον, ἀστρατηγικώτατον.

as though he were a god, and not sham ones, as those offered on behalf of the other when he was ill.¹ But the simple fact is that whatever mischief this Pisistratus *abstains* from doing is as much a subject for gratitude, as if he had prevented some one else from doing it. They hope the one will be lenient, they believe the other to be enraged. What complimentary processions from the towns! What honours voted! Pure fright, you will say. Yes, I daresay; but they are still more afraid of the other. The artful clemency of the one delights, the angry temper of the other alarms, them. Those on the roll of the 360 jurors,² who used to be particularly fond of our friend Gnæus, and one or other of whom I see every day, are horrified at some of his Lucerian doings.³ So I want to know what sort of Optimates these are to force me abroad, while they remain at home themselves. However, be they who they may, "I fear the Trojans."⁴ Yet I see clearly with what a prospect I am starting; and I am joining myself with a man better prepared to devastate Italy than to win a victory, and have only a master to expect. And, indeed, at the moment of writing this (4th March) I am in momentary expectation of some news from Brundisium. But why do I say *some* news? It is news of his shameful flight thence that I expect, and of the route which the victor is taking on his return and of his destination. When I have got that news, if Cæsar come by the Appia, I think of retiring to Arpinum.

¹ For Pompey's illness see p. 168.

² This is the number mentioned in Plutarch (*Pomp.* 55) on the special roll of *iudices* drawn up by Pompey for the trial of Milo in B.C. 52, the *album iudicum* which Asconius, § 39, says consisted of men of the highest rank and character.

³ This is explained by Letter CCCXLI, p. 294, where Cicero says that Pompey's followers were some of them openly threatening a proscription.

⁴ *I.e.*, public opinion, his favourite quotation from *Il.* vi. 442; see vol. i., p. 90, etc.

CCCLII (A IX, 1)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 6 MARCH

ALTHOUGH by the time you read this I think I shall know what has happened at Brundisium—for Gnæus left Canusium on the 21st of February, and I write on the 6th of March, the fourteenth day after his removing from Canusium—yet I am kept in painful suspense as to what each hour may bring, and am wondering that nothing even by way of rumour has reached me. There is a surprising silence. But perhaps all this is mere idle curiosity¹ about what, after all, must soon be known. One thing worries me, that I cannot at present make out where our friend P. Lentulus and Domitius are. Now I want to know, in order the easier to find out their intentions, whether they are going to Pompey, and if so, by what route and when. The city, indeed, I am told, is now crammed full of Optimates. I hear that Sosius and Lupus are sitting in court,² whom our friend Gnæus thought would arrive at Brundisium before himself. From these parts there is a general exodus. Even Manius Lepidus, with whom I am used to spend the day, is thinking of starting to-morrow. For myself, I am stopping on at Formiæ in order to get quicker intelligence. Then I am for Arpinum. Thence, by whatever road there is least chance of meetings, to the Upper Sea, leaving behind or altogether giving up my lictors. For I am told that by some loyalists, who are now and have often been before a protection to the commonwealth, my staying in Italy is disapproved, and that at their entertainments (beginning pretty early in the day too) many severe reflexions are being made upon me! Evidently, then, the thing to do is to leave the country, to wage war on Italy by land and sea, to rouse the hatred of the disloyal against us once more, which had become extinct, and to follow the

¹ κενόσπουδα.² C. Sosius and P. Rubilius Rufus, prætors.

advice of a Luceius and Theophanes! For others have some reason for going: Scipio, for instance, starts for Syria, the province allotted to him, or is accompanying his son-in-law, in either case with an honourable pretext, or, if you like, is avoiding the wrath of Cæsar. The Marcelli, for their part, had they not feared the sword of Cæsar, would have remained: Appius has the same reason for fear, and that, too, in connexion with a recent quarrel. Except him and Q. Cassius, the rest are legates, Faustus is a proquæstor: I am the only one who might take either one course or the other. Added to this, there is my brother, whom it is not fair to involve in this adventure, considering that Cæsar would be still more angry with him. But I cannot induce him to stay behind. This concession I shall make to Pompey, as in duty bound: for as far as I am concerned no one else influences me—nor the talk of the loyalists, who do not really exist, nor the cause which has been conducted with timidity and will be conducted with crime. To one man, one alone, I make this concession, and that, too, without any request from him, and though—as he says—he is not defending his own cause, but that of the state. I should like much to know what you are thinking of doing as to crossing into Epirus.

CCCLIII (A IX, 7 b)

C. CORNELIUS BALBUS TO CICERO (AT
FORMIÆ)

ROME, 6 MARCH

If you are well, I am glad. After sending you the letter written in conjunction with Oppius, I have received one from Cæsar, of which I am sending you a copy. From this you will be able to see how desirous he is for a reconciliation between himself and Pompey, and how averse from every thought of cruelty. That such are his sentiments I

am, as in duty bound, greatly rejoiced. As to yourself, your good faith, and your piety, I entertain the same opinion as you do yourself, my dear Cicero—that your reputation and duty cannot admit of your bearing arms against a man from whom you avow having received so much kindness. I have full assurance that Cæsar, as might be expected from his extraordinary kindness, will approve of this course, and I know for certain that you will satisfy him to the full by undertaking no command in the war against him, and by not associating yourself with his adversaries. And it is not only in the case of a man of such a high position and character as yourself that he will accept this as sufficient, but even in my own case he has volunteered the concession, that I should not serve in any camp that shall, in the future, be opposed to either Lentulus or Pompey, to whom I am under very great obligations; and he has told me that he will be satisfied with my performing civil functions for him, which I am at liberty to perform for them also if I choose. Accordingly, I am now at Rome acting for Lentulus generally, taking his business upon me, and doing for them all that duty, honour, and piety demand. But, by heaven, the hope of their coming to terms, which I had given up, I now think not entirely desperate, since Cæsar is minded as we are bound to wish him to be. In the circumstances my opinion is, if you think well, that you should write to him and ask him for protection, as, with my full approbation, you asked it from Pompey at the Milonian crisis.¹ I will engage, if I am right in my judgment of Cæsar, that he will take more thought for your dignity than for his own advantage. I am no certain judge of the wisdom of the advice I am now giving you, but at least I am sure that whatever I write to you I write from an uncommon affection and friendly disposition; because upon my life—which I would forfeit to save Cæsar—I value you so highly, that I regard few as equally dear as yourself. When you have come to some conclusion on this

¹ The admirers of Clodius raised such a tumult on the first day of the trial of Milo, that Pompey, being appealed to, promised to be present the next day with an armed guard. According to Asconius, it was M. Marcellus, one of Milo's advocates, and L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who as prætor was presiding at the trial, that asked for the guard, not Cicero (Ascon. 41). But Cicero may very well have joined in the request.

matter, let me hear from you. For I am uncommonly anxious that you may find it possible to make good your kindly intentions to both sides ; which, by heaven, I feel sure you will do. Take care of your health.

CCCLIV (A IX, 2)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 7 MARCH

THOUGH on the 7th of March (the day, I think, for your fever fit) I am expecting a longer letter from you, yet I think I ought to answer even the short one which you wrote on the 4th, just before your attack. You say that you are glad that I have stayed in Italy, and that you are of the same opinion as before. But in a former letter you seemed to me to have no doubt about my going, always provided that Gnæus embarked with an adequate following, and that the consuls crossed also. Have you forgotten this, or did I misunderstand you, or have you changed your opinion? But I shall either ascertain your opinion from the letter I am now expecting, or I shall draw another letter from you. No news as yet from Brundisium.

CCCLV (A IX, 2 a)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 8 MARCH

WHAT a difficult, what a hopeless thing! You pass over no point in giving your advice, and yet how completely you fail to reveal what your real opinion is! You are glad that I am not with Pompey, and yet you suggest how discreditable it would be for me to be in the House when

any attack is made on him; yet shocking to approve his conduct. Certainly. To speak against him, then? "God forbid!" say you. What, then, is to be done, if the one course is criminal, the other exposed to punishment? "You will obtain permission," say you, "from Cæsar to absent yourself and live in retirement." Am I to implore this permission, then? How humiliating! What if I fail to get it? Again, you say, "The question of your triumph will be unprejudiced." What if this very thing is used to put pressure upon me? Should I accept it? What a disgrace! Should I decline it? Cæsar will think that I am repudiating his whole policy, as formerly in the case of the land commission.¹ Why, in excusing himself, he always throws the whole blame for what then happened on me, saying that I was so bitterly opposed to him, that I would not accept even an honour at his hands. With how much greater irritation will he take a similar proceeding from me now? It will, of course, be greater in proportion as this honour is greater than the former, and he is himself in a stronger position.

But you say that you have no doubt I am in very bad odour with Pompey by this time: I don't see why that should be the case, particularly at this time. Shall a man who never told me anything about his plan, till after he had lost Corfinium, complain of my not having come to Brundisium, when Cæsar lay between me and Brundisium? In the next place, complaint on his side he must know to be barred. He considers that I was clearer sighted than he about the weakness of the municipal towns, the levies, the maintenance of peace, the city, money, and the need of occupying Picenum. If, on the other hand, I don't go when it is in my power, he will have some right to be angry with me: and I shrink from that, not for fear of his hurting me—for what could he do? And

"Who is a slave who does not fear to die?"²

But because I have a horror of ingratitude. I feel confident,

¹ The commission of twenty (*vigintiviri*) for the distribution of the Campanian land under Cæsar's law of B.C. 59, on which Cicero had declined to serve. See vol. i., p. 113.

² τίς δ' ἐστὶ δούλος τοῦ θανεῖν ἀφ' οὗτις ὤν; a line of Euripides, but from what play is unknown.

therefore, that my arrival in his camp, whenever it takes place, will, as you say, be welcome enough.¹ For as to what you say, "If Cæsar acts with more moderation you will reconsider your advice to me"—how can he help behaving ruthlessly? Character, previous career, the very nature of his present undertaking, his associates, the strength of the loyalists, or even their firmness, all forbid it.

I had scarcely read your letter, when Curtius Postumus called on me as he was hurrying to join Cæsar, talking of nothing but fleets and armies—"Cæsar was going to seize the Spains,² occupy Asia, Sicily, Africa, Sardinia, and was promptly pursuing Pompey into Greece." I must start, therefore, with the view of sharing not so much in a war as in a stampede. For I shall never be able to stand the gossip of your folk at Rome, whatever they are, for loyalists they are not, in spite of their name. Nevertheless, it is precisely that which I want to know—what they say; and I earnestly entreat you to make inquiries and inform me. As yet I am entirely ignorant of what has happened at Brundisium: when I know, I shall shape my plans in the light of facts and circumstances, but I shall consult you.

CCCLVI (A IX, 6 a)

IULIUS CÆSAR TO CICERO (AT FORMIÆ)

NEAR BRUNDISIUM, 7 MARCH

HAVING merely seen our friend Furnius, and not having been able conveniently either to speak or to listen to him, as I was in haste and on the march, after sending my legions in advance, I yet could not omit writing to you, and sending him to thank you: though this last I have often done, and

¹ *ἀπομνημόνιον*, quoted apparently from the letter of Atticus. It is a word of late Greek.

² Spain was now held by Pompey's *three* legates, L. Afranius, M. Petreius, and M. Terentius Varro.

think I shall have occasion to do so still oftener—so great are your services to me. Above all, I beg of you, as I feel sure that I shall be coming to the city walls¹ before long, that I may see you there to enable me to avail myself of your advice, influence, position, and support of every kind. I will return to what I said at first: be kind enough to pardon my haste and the brevity of my letter. You will learn everything else from Furnius.

CCCLVII (A IX, 3)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 9 MARCH

THE son of Domitius passed through Formiæ on the 8th of March, hurrying to his mother at Naples,² and on my slave Dionysius putting some earnest questions to him about his father, he bade him tell me that he was outside the city. I, however, had been told that he had gone either to join Pompey or into Spain. What the truth of the matter is I should like very much to know: for it affects the question on which I am now deliberating, that, if Domitius, at any rate, has failed to find an exit from Italy, Gnæus should understand that my own departure from Italy is not easy, occupied as it now is throughout with arms and garrisons, especially in the winter season. For if it had been a more convenient season of the year, I might have sailed even on the Lower Sea. As it is, a passage is impossible except by the Upper Sea, to which my road is closed. Be good enough to inquire, therefore, about both Domitius and Lentulus. No rumour has come as yet from Brundisium, and to-day is the 9th, on which (or on the day before) I

¹ Cæsar is careful to use the phrase *ad urbem* (not *in*), for, as having *imperium*, he could not constitutionally pass the *pomerium*.

² Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who afterwards was counted by some among the assassins of Iulius, and played a considerable part in events that followed it. His mother was Porcia, sister of Cato Uticensis.

imagine that Cæsar has reached Brundisium. For he halted at Arpi on the 1st. But if you choose to believe Postumus, he was intending to pursue Gnæus. For by a calculation of the state of the weather and days he concluded that the latter had already crossed. I said I didn't think Cæsar would have crews: Postumus felt confident on that point, and all the more, because Cæsar's liberality had been heard of by shipowners. But it cannot now be long before I learn the entire state of affairs at Brundisium.

CCCLVIII (A IX, 5)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 10 MARCH

ON your birthday¹ you wrote me a letter full of advice, and not only shewing the greatest kindness to me, but also the most admirable wisdom. Philotimus delivered it to me the day after receiving it from you. The points you put are indeed of extreme difficulty—the journey to the Upper Sea, a voyage by the Lower, a departure to Arpinum, lest I should seem to have avoided Cæsar, a continuance at Formiæ, lest I should seem to have put myself forward to congratulate him—but nothing is more distressing than the sight of those things, which, I tell you, must before long be seen. Curtius Postumus has been with me: I told you how oppressive he was. Q. Fufius also has been to see me. What a triumphant look! What assurance! Post haste for Brundisium: denouncing the crime of Pompey, the recklessness and folly of the senate. If I can't stand such things in my own villa, shall I be able to put up with Curtius in the senate-house? But suppose me to endure this with good temper, what will be the sequel of the usual

¹ *Natali die tuo*. Several editors wish to omit *natali*, in which case the words will mean "on the day of your ague fit," as in previous letters.

"Speak, Marcus Tullius"?¹ To say nothing of the Republican cause, which I look upon as lost, both from the wounds inflicted on it and the cures prepared for them, what am I to do about Pompey? With whom—for why should I deny it?—I am downright angry. For I am always more affected by the causes of events than by the events themselves. Therefore, turning over these disastrous events in my mind—and what could be more disastrous!—or rather, coming to the conclusion that they are his doing and his fault, I feel more hostile to him than to Cæsar himself: just as our ancestors decided that the day of the battle of the Allia was more fatal than that of the capture of the city, because the latter evil was the result of the former; and accordingly the one day is even now regarded as accursed, while the other is generally unknown—so I, remembering the errors of ten years, among which was also that year which ruined me, without his defending me (not to put it more strongly), and being fully aware of the rashness, incompetence, and carelessness of the present management, felt my anger growing. But that is all forgotten now. It is of his kindness that I think, and also of my own position. I understand—later, indeed, than I could have wished, thanks to the letters and conversations of Balbus—I see plainly, I repeat, that the one object now, nay, the one object from the beginning, was the death of Pompey. As for me, therefore, since Homer's hero, when his goddess mother said to him, "For next to Hector's death thy doom is fixed," answered his mother:

"Death, then! since fate allowed me not to save
The friend I loved."²

What should I do for one who was not merely a "friend," but a "benefactor" also? One, too, of such a great character, and engaged in such a great cause? Why, in truth, I regard such duties as worth the loss of life. In your Optimates, however, I have no sort of confidence, and henceforth do not devote myself either to their service. I see how they are surrendering themselves to Cæsar, and will continue to do so in the future. Do you suppose that those decrees of

¹ See p. 204.

² Homer, *Il.* xviii. 96.

the municipalities as to Pompey's illness¹ are to be compared with these congratulations now offered to Cæsar on his victory? "All terror," you will say. Yes, but they themselves assert that they were alarmed on the former occasion. However, let us wait to see what has happened at Brundisium. Perhaps from that may come a change of plan and in the tone of my letters.

CCCLIX (A IX, 6)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 11 MARCH

NOTHING as yet from Brundisium. Balbus has written from Rome that he thinks that the consul Lentulus has by this time crossed, and that the younger Balbus did not succeed in getting an interview with him; because the young man heard this news at Canusium, and had written to him from that town. He says, too, that the six cohorts which were at Alba had joined Curius by the Minucian road:² that Cæsar had written to tell him that, and he would himself be shortly at the city. Therefore I shall follow your advice, and shall not go into hiding at Arpinum at the present time, although, as I wished to give my son his *toga virilis*³ at Arpinum, I contemplated leaving this excuse for Cæsar. But perhaps that very thing would offend him—"Why not at Rome rather?" And after all, if meet him I must, I would rather it were here than anywhere. Then I shall consider the rest, that is, whither and by what road and when I am

¹ See *ante*, pp. 168, 310.

² The *via Minucia* is spoken of by Horace (*Ep.* i. 18, 20) as an alternative route to the *Appia* leading to Brundisium. It seems to have been by this road that the Martia and fourth legion came to Alba Fuentia in 44 B.C., instead of proceeding up the coast road from Brundisium to Gaul, as Antony had directed them. According to Cæsar, *B. C.* i. 24, the six cohorts from Alba Fuentia joined Vibius Curius on the march to Brundisium.

³ Usually given at the *Liberalia* (17th March).

to go. Domitius, I hear, is at Cosa, ready, too, I am told, to set sail: if to Spain I don't approve, if to join Gnæus I commend him: he had better go anywhere than have to see Curtius,¹ of whom, though his patron, I cannot stand the sight. What, then, am I to say of the rest? But, I suppose, we had better keep quiet, lest we prove our own error, who, while loving the city, that is, our country, and while thinking that the matter would be patched up, have so managed matters as to be completely intercepted and made prisoners.

I had written thus far when a letter arrived from Capua, as follows:

"Pompey has crossed the sea with all the men he had with him. The total is 30,000; besides the consuls, two tribunes of the plebs, and the senators who were with him, all with wives and children. He is said to have embarked on the 4th of March. Since that day the north wind has prevailed. They say that he disabled or burnt all such ships as he did not use."

On this subject a letter has been received at Capua by L. Metellus, the tribune, from his mother-in-law Clodia, who has herself crossed. I was anxious and full of pain before, as, of course, the bare facts of the case compelled, when I found myself unable to unravel the mystery by any consideration; but now, when Pompey and the consuls have left Italy, I am not merely pained, I am burning with indignation:

"Reason deserts her throne,
And I am torn with grief."²

Believe me, I really am beside myself to think of the dishonour I have brought upon myself. That I, in the first place, should not be with Pompey, whatever plan he has followed, nor, in the second place, with the loyalists, however imprudently managed their cause! Especially, too, when those very persons, for whose sake I was somewhat timid in trusting myself to fortune—wife, daughter, son, and

¹ M. Curtius Postumus (see p. 316). Cicero had formerly promoted his interests with Cæsar (vol. i., p. 277). He may refer to that in calling himself his *patronus*, or he may have defended him in some lawsuit.

²

οὐδέ μοι ἦτορ
ἔμπεδον, ἀλλ' ἀλαλύκηνται. — Hom. *Il.* x. 91.

II.

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nephew—preferred that I should follow that design, and thought that my present plan was discreditable and unworthy of me. For, as to my brother Quintus, whatever I determined upon he said that he considered right, and he accepted it with the most absolute acquiescence.

I am reading over your letters from the beginning of the business. They somewhat relieve me. The earliest ones warn and entreat me not to be precipitate. The next indicate that you are glad that I stayed. Whilst reading them I feel less base, but only while I read them. Presently grief and the "vision of shame" rises again. Wherefore, my dear Titus, pray pluck out this sorrow from my mind, or at least mitigate it by consoling words or advice, or by anything you can. But what could you or any human being do? It is now almost beyond the power of God.

For my part, my object now, as you advise and think possible, is to obtain leave from Cæsar to absent myself when any motion is being made against Pompey in the senate. But I fear I may not obtain the concession. Furnius has arrived from Cæsar. To shew you the sort of men we are following, he tells me that the son of Q. Titinius is with Cæsar, but that the latter thanks me even more than I could wish. What, however, it is that he asks of me, expressed indeed, for his part, in few words, but still *en grand seigneur*, you may learn from his own letter. How distressed I am at your ill-health: if we had only been together, you would at least not have wanted advice. For "two heads," you know.¹ But don't let us cry over spilt milk:² let us do better for the future. Up to this time I have been mistaken in two particulars: at the beginning I hoped for

¹ *ὅν τε δὴ ἐρχομένῳ καὶ τε πρὸς τὸ τοῦ ἐνόησαν
ὅπως κέρδος ἔσται. μόνος δ' εἶπερ τε νοήσῃ,
ἀλλὰ τε οἱ βράσσων τε νόος, λεπτή δὲ τε μήτις.*

"Two comrades on the road: two heads in council:
Each sees for each and finds the better way.
But he whose council is his single breast
Is scant of skill and slower to divine."—*Il. x. 224.*

² *Acta ne agamus*, "let us not do what has been done," a proverb answering to "shutting the stable door when the horse is stolen," or "whipping a dead horse," or as in the text. See *de Am.* § 85, where Cicero calls it an ancient proverb.

peace, and, if that were once gained, was prepared to be content with the life of a private citizen, and an old age freed from anxiety: and later, I found that a bloody and destructive war was being undertaken by Pompey. Upon my honour, I thought it shewed a better man and a better citizen to suffer any punishment whatever rather than, I don't say to lead, but even to take part in such bloody work. I think it would have been better even to die than to be with such men. I shall bear any result with greater courage than such a pain.

CCCLX (A IX, 4)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 12 MARCH

ALTHOUGH any feeling of repose is for me confined to the time I spend in writing to you or reading a letter from you, yet I am myself at a loss for a subject for my letters, and I feel certain that the same is the case with you. For the topics usually filling familiar letters, written with an easy mind, are excluded by the critical nature of these times; while those connected with the crisis we have already worn threadbare. Nevertheless, not to surrender myself wholly to sorrowful reflexions, I have selected certain theses, so to speak, which have at once a general bearing on a citizen's duty, and a particular relation to the present crisis:

Ought one to remain in one's country when under a tyrant? If one's country is under a tyrant, ought one to labour at all hazards for the abolition of the tyranny, even at the risk of the total destruction of the city? Or ought we to be on our guard against the man attempting the abolition, lest he should rise too high himself?

Ought one to assist one's country when under a tyrant by seizing opportunities and by argument, rather than by war?

Is it acting like a good citizen to quit one's country when under a tyrant for any other land, and there to remain quiet,

or ought one to face any and every danger for liberty's sake?

Ought one to wage war upon and besiege one's native town, if it is under a tyrant?

Even if one does not approve an abolition of a tyranny by war, ought one still to enroll oneself in the ranks of the loyalists?

Ought one in politics to share the dangers of one's benefactors and friends, even though one does not think their general policy to be wise?

*Should a man who has done conspicuous services to his country, and on that very account has been shamefully treated and exposed to envy, voluntarily place himself in danger for his country, or may he be permitted at length to take thought for himself and those nearest and dearest to him, giving up all political struggles against the stronger party?*¹

By keeping myself at work on questions such as these, and discussing both sides both in Greek and Latin, I at once distract my mind for a time from its anxieties, and at the same time attempt the solution of a problem now very much to the point. But I fear you may find me unseasonable; for if the bearer of this keeps up the proper pace, it will reach you exactly on your ague day.

CCCLXI (A IX, 7)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMLÆ, 13 MARCH

I WROTE you a letter on the 12th of March, but the messenger to whom I intended to give it did not start on that day. But there did arrive that very day that "swift-foot" mentioned by Salvius. He brought me your full and very interesting letter, which did, so to speak, put just a

¹ These Greek *theses* are merely the doubts entertained by Cicero as to his own particular position, and have been already expressed again and again in every variety of language. Like most people, he imagines that what affects himself has a general application.

drop of life into me: for wholly restored I can't say that I am. But you have clearly done the main thing. Yes, believe me, a prosperous issue for me is not now my aim at all: for I see plainly that we can never have our constitution, either while these two men are both alive, or with this one remaining. Accordingly, I no longer entertain any hope of repose for myself, nor refuse to contemplate any amount of sorrow. The one thing I do positively dread is doing, or, I should say, having done anything dishonourable. So be assured that your letter was wholesome for me, and I don't only mean this longer one—the most explicit and complete possible—but also the shorter one, in which what gave me the most intense pleasure was the statement that my policy and action had the approval of Sextus. I am exceedingly obliged to you, of whose affection to myself and keen sense of what is right I am well aware.¹

Your longer letter, indeed, relieved not only myself, but all my party from painful feelings. So I will follow your advice and remain at Formiæ: I shall thus avoid the scandal of a meeting with him outside the city, or, if I see him neither here nor there, giving him the impression of his having been intentionally avoided by me. As to your advice to ask him to allow me to shew the same consideration for Pompey, as I have shewn to himself—that you will see from the letters of Balbus and Oppius, of which I sent you copies, I have been doing all the time. I send you also Cæsar's letter to them, written in quite a sane frame of mind, considering the insanity of the whole business. If, on the other hand, Cæsar will not make this concession to me, I see your opinion is that my *role* should be that of the peacemaker. In this it is not the danger that I fear—for with so many hanging over my head, why not settle the matter by choosing the most honourable?—but what I do fear is embarrassing Pompey; and that he should turn upon me

“The monster Gorgon's petrifying glare.”²

For our friend Pompey has set his heart to a surprising

¹ These words, as the text stands, must apply to Atticus. It seems, however, much more natural that they should refer to Sext. Peducæus. Accordingly, editors have endeavoured to fill up the *lacuna* in various ways.

² *Odys.* xi. 633. μή μοι γοργεῖν κεφαλὴν δεινόιο πελώρου.

degree on imitating Sulla's reign. I am not speaking without book, I assure you. He never made less of a secret of anything. "With such a man," you will say, "do you wish to be associated?" I follow personal obligation, not the cause: as I did in the case of Milo, and in—but there is no need to go into that. "Is not the cause, then, a good one?" Nay, the best: but it will be conducted, remember, in the most criminal way. The first plan is to choke off the city and Italy by starving them; the next, to devastate the country with sword and fire, and not to keep their hands off the money of the wealthy. But seeing that I fear the same from Cæsar's side, without any good to be got on Pompey's, I think my better course is to stay at home, and there await whatever comes. Yet I hold myself to be under so great an obligation to him, that I do not venture to incur the charge of ingratitude. However, you have yourself fully stated what is to be said in defence of that course.

As to the triumph, I quite agree with you: it will not cost me a moment's hesitation or a pang to throw it utterly aside. I much like your idea that, while I am moving about the country, "the moment for sailing"¹ may suddenly present itself. "If only," say you, "Pompey shews a resolute front enough." He is even more resolute than I thought. You may pin your faith on him. I promise you that, if he wins, he will not leave a tile on any roof in Italy! "You his ally, then?" Yes, by Hercules, against my own judgment, and against the warnings of all history; and—not so much to help his side, as to avoid seeing what is going on here—I am anxious to quit the country. For pray don't imagine that the mad proceedings of the party in Italy will be endurable or all of one kind. I need hardly, however, point out to you, that when laws, jurors, law courts, and senate are abolished, neither the fortunes of individuals nor the revenues of the state will suffice for the licentious desires, the shameless demands, the extravagances, and the necessities of so many men in the lowest depths of poverty. Let me depart, therefore, never mind by what kind of voyage—that, indeed, shall be as you please—but anyhow

¹ ὁ πλόος ὥραιος. See Letter CCCLXXV, p. 354.

let me depart. For I, at least, shall be able to satisfy your curiosity on one point, as to what has been done at Brundisium. I am very glad—if one can be glad of anything now—to hear that my conduct up to this has the approval of the loyalists, and that they are aware of my not having started. As to Lentulus, I will make more careful inquiry: I have given orders about it to Philotimus, a man of courage and even too strong an Optimate. The last thing I have to say is this: supposing you are now at a loss for something to write about—for any other subject is out of the question, and what more can be found to say on this?—yet, as there is no lack of ability (I mean it, by Heaven!) or affection on your part, which latter also adds a spur to my own intellect, pray maintain your practice of writing all you possibly can. I am a little vexed at your not inviting me to Epirus; I shouldn't give much trouble as a guest! But good-bye; for as you must have your walk and anointing, so I must have some sleep. In fact, your letter has made sleep possible for me.

CCCLXII (A IX, 8)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 14 MARCH

As we were at dinner on the 14th, and after nightfall indeed, Statius arrived with a short letter from you. You ask about L. Torquatus: not only Lucius, but Aulus also, has left the country, the latter a good many days ago. You mention the sale of prisoners at Reate: I am sorry that the seeds of a proscription should be sown in the Sabine district. I too had been informed that there were numerous senators at Rome. Can you give any reason why they ever left town? In these parts there is a notion—founded on conjecture rather than on message or despatch—that Cæsar will be at Formiæ on the 22nd of March. I could wish I

had Homer's Minerva here disguised as Mentor, to say to her :

"How shall I go then, O Mentor, and how shall I bear me before him?"¹

I never had a harder problem to solve. Still I am trying to solve it, and I shall not be unprepared as far as is possible in a bad business. But look after your health, for I reckon that yesterday was your ague day.

CCCLXIII (A IX, 9)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 17 MARCH

I RECEIVED three letters from you on the 16th of March. They were dated on the 12th, 13th, and 14th. So I will answer each in its order of time. I quite agree with you in thinking Formiæ the best of all places for me to stay. I also agree with you about the Upper Sea, and I am very desirous, as I told you in a previous letter, to discover how I may without annoying Cæsar avoid taking any part whatever in the conduct of public affairs. You praise me for saying that I put away the memory of my friend's past and his shortcomings. I really do so : nay, I even forget those very injuries inflicted by him upon myself which you mention. So much more influence do I choose gratitude for kindness to have with me, than resentment for injury. Let me act, then, according to your opinion, and summon up all my energies. The fact is, I am philosophizing all the time I am riding about the country, and in the course of my expeditions I never cease meditating on my *theses*. But some of them are very difficult of solution. As to the Optimates, be it as you will : but you know the proverb,

¹ Hom. *Odys.* iii. 22. Μέντορ, πῶς τ' ἄρ' ἴω, πῶς τ' ἄρ' προσπύξομαι αὐτόν. Athene has taken the shape of Mentor.

"Dionysius at Corinth."¹ The son of Titinius is with Cæsar.² You seem to have a kind of fear that I do not like your counsels: the fact, however, is that nothing else gives me any pleasure except your advice and your letters. Pray, therefore, keep to your word: do not cease writing to me whatever occurs to you: you can do me no greater favour.

I now come to your second. You are quite right to be incredulous about the number of Pompey's men. Clodia just doubled them in her letter.³ It was all a lie also about disabling the ships. You praise the consuls: so do I as far as their spirit is concerned, but I blame their policy. For by their departure the negotiation for peace was rendered impossible, which I for one was meditating. Accordingly, after this I sent you back Demetrius's book "On Concord," and gave it to Philotimus. Nor have I any doubt left of a murderous war impending, which will begin with a famine. And yet I am vexed that I am not taking part in such a war! A war in which wickedness is certain to attain such dimensions, that, whereas it is a crime not to support one's parents, our leaders will think themselves entitled to starve to death the supreme and holiest of parents—their country! And this fear is not with me a matter of conjecture: I have heard their actual words. The whole object of collecting this fleet from Alexandria, Colchis, Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, Cyprus, Pamphylia, Lycia, Rhodes, Chios, Byzantium,

¹ This is generally interpreted by a reference to the story told in *Tusc.* iii. § 27, of Dionysius the younger, after being expelled from Syracuse, keeping a school at Corinth because he could not live without some absolute power; so the Optimates will not rest, Cicero is supposed to argue, till they get power, and then they will persecute me. Tyrrell and Purser think it sufficient to explain it as an example of the ups and downs of life. This hardly seems sufficiently in point here. I am inclined to dismiss the school-keeping altogether. Plutarch (in his life of Timoleon), giving a pretty full account of Dionysius's exile, says nothing about it; but does say that he adopted a life of dissipation and frivolity in Corinth to avert suspicion of intending to recover his power. Cicero may mean, "The Optimates may be moderate enough men now, as you say; but wait and see what they will do if they gain power, either by Pompey's success, or by joining Cæsar."

² Cicero seems to think that the presence of the younger Titinius in Cæsar's company especially disgraceful or dangerous to himself (see pp. 260, 322). His father was on the other side.

³ See Letter CCCLIX, p. 321.

Lesbos, Zmyrna, Miletus, Cos,¹ is to intercept the supplies of Italy and blockade the corn-growing provinces. Then, again, in what a state of anger will Pompey come! and especially with the very men most anxious for his safety, as though he had been abandoned by those whom he, in fact, abandoned himself. Accordingly, in my state of doubt as to what it is right for me to do, my feeling of obligation to Pompey becomes a very weighty motive: if that feeling were away, it were better in my eyes to perish in my country, than to ruin it in the attempt to save it. About the north wind it is clearly as you say: I am afraid Epirus may be harassed. But what part of Greece do you suppose will not be plundered? For Pompey gives out openly, and demonstrates to his soldiers, that he will outdo Cæsar even in his liberality. It is an excellent suggestion of yours that, when I do see Cæsar, I should not speak with too much tolerance, but rather with a grave severity. I clearly ought to do so. I am thinking of Arpinum, but not till I have had my meeting with him; thus avoiding being absent when he arrives, or having to hurry backwards and forwards along a detestably bad road. I am told, as you say in your letter, that Bibulus has arrived and started back again on the 14th.² You were expecting Philotimus, you say in your third letter. But he only left me on the 15th. That was why you got my letter in reply to yours rather late, though I wrote the answer at once. I agree with what you say about Domitius—he is at Cosa, and no one knows what his design is. Yes, that basest, meanest fellow in the world, who says that a consular election can be held by a prætor, is the same as he always was in constitutional matters.³ So of course that was

¹ The fleet which Pompey was collecting from the East, where his name was still of the greatest weight.

² *I.e.*, has come home from Syria, and gone back to join Pompey. Bibulus had the command of Pompey's fleet.

³ M. Æmilius Lepidus, prætor this year, consul B.C. 45, master of the horse to Cæsar as dictator, Pontifex Maximus B.C. 44, triumvir B.C. 43-36. Cicero elsewhere describes him as the "greatest weather-cock in the world" (*homo ventosissimus*): and his feebleness was afterwards only too clearly manifested. He was expelled from the triumvirate by Augustus in B.C. 36, and lived on in obscurity (though still nominally Pontifex Maximus) till B.C. 14. The constitutional point Cicero now attacks him on was the doctrine that a prætor could "create" a consul

what Cæsar meant by saying in the letter, of which I sent you a copy,¹ "that he wished to avail himself of my advice" (well, well! that is a mere generality), "of my popularity" (that's empty flattery—but I suppose he adopts that tone with a view to my influencing certain senatorial votes), "of my position" (perhaps he means my vote as a consular). He finishes up by saying "of my help in every particular." I had already begun to suspect from your letter that this was the real meaning of it, or something very like it. For it is of great importance to him that there should not be an *interregnum*: and that he secures, if the consuls are "created" by the prætor. However, it is on record in our augural books that, so far from consuls being legally capable of being created by a prætor, the prætors themselves cannot be so created, and that there is no precedent for it: that it is illegal in case of the consuls, because it is not legal for the greater *imperium* to be proposed to the people by the less; in case of the prætors, because their names are submitted to the people as colleagues of the consuls, to whom belongs the greater *imperium*. Before long he will be demanding that my vote in the college should be given, and he won't be content with Galba, Scaevola, Cassius, and Antonius:

"Then let the wide earth gape and swallow me!"²

But you see what a storm is impending. Which of the senators have crossed the sea I will tell you when I know for certain. About the corn-supply you are quite right, it cannot possibly be managed without a revenue: and you have good reason for fearing the clamorous demands of Pompey's *entourage*, and an unnatural war. I should much like to see my friend Trebatius, though, as you say, he is in despair about everything. Pray urge him to make haste and come: for it will be a great convenience to see him before

—both consuls being away, Cæsar would otherwise be unable to be elected—whereas, the true doctrine Cicero holds to be that the less magistrate cannot "create" the greater. See Letter CCCLXXII, p. 349.

¹ Letter CCCLVI.

² *τῷτε μοι χάνοι εὖρεῖα χθών* (Hom. *Il.* iv. 182).

Cæsar's arrival.¹ As to the property at Lanuvium, as soon as I heard of Phamea's death, I conceived the wish—provided the constitution was to survive—that some one of my friends should buy it, yet I never thought of you, the greatest of my friends. For I knew that you usually wanted to know how many years' purchase it was worth, and what was the value of the fixtures, and I had seen your *digamma*² not only at Rome, but also at Delos. After all, however, I value it, pretty as it is, at less price than it was valued in the consulship of Marcellinus,³ when I thought—owing to the house I possessed at that time at Antium—that those little pleasure-grounds would suit me better, and be less expensive, than repairing my Tusculan house. I was then willing to give 500 sester tia (about £4,000) for them. I made an offer through a third person, which he refused, when he was putting it up for sale at Antium. But in these days I presume all such properties are gone down in value, owing to the dearness of money. It will suit me exactly, or rather *us*, if you buy it. But don't be put off by the late owner's follies: it is really a lovely place. However, all such properties appear to me to be now doomed to desolation. I have answered your three letters, but am expecting others. For up to this time it is letters from you that have kept me going.

The Liberalia (17th March).

¹ *I.e.*, to consult him on the legal question, and so strengthen his hands in answering Cæsar.

² No one knows what this *digamma* means. It may be some mark used by Atticus in the ledgers containing an account of properties on which he had lent money; or it may be that the word is a mistake for *διάγραμμα*, "a schedule," as was long ago conjectured.

³ B.C. 56.

CCCLXIV (A IX, 10)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 18 MARCH

I HAVE nothing to write about : for I have heard no news and I answered all your letters yesterday. But as uneasiness of mind not only deprives me of sleep, but prevents my even keeping awake without extreme pain, I have begun this letter to you—I can't tell what about, and I have no subject to hand—that I may in a manner have a talk with you, the one thing which gives me any repose. I think I have been a fool from the beginning, and the one thing that torments me is that I did not follow Pompey, like any private in the ranks, when, in every part of his policy, he was losing his footing, or rather rushing headlong to ruin. On the 17th of January I could see that he was thoroughly frightened. On that very day I detected his design. From that moment he forfeited my confidence, and never ceased committing one blunder after another. Meanwhile, never a line to me ; no thought of anything but flight. Need I say more ? As in love affairs men lose all fancy for women who are dirty, stupid, and indelicate, even so, the indecency of his flight and mismanagement put me off from my love for him. For in no respect was he acting in a way to make it proper for me to join his flight. Now love again rises : now my regret for him is more than I can bear : now I can get no good out of books, literature, or philosophy. So earnestly as I gaze across the sea, do I long, like Plato's bird, to fly away.¹ I am being punished, indeed I am, for my rashness. Yet what did that rashness amount to ? What have I done without the most anxious consideration ? If his only object had been flight, I could have fled with the utmost pleasure, but

¹ Plato, *Ep.* vii. 348A : *καθάπερ ὄρνις ποθέων ποθεῖν ἀναπτήσθαι*. It is natural to think of the Psalmist's "O that I had the wings of a dove," etc.

it was the nature of the war, beyond measure sanguinary and widespread, the future of which men do not yet realize, that I shrank from with horror. What threats to the towns, to individual loyalists personally, to everybody, in fact, who stayed in Rome! How often did I hear "Sulla could do it, why not I?" For myself I was haunted with the reflexions: it was unrighteous of Tarquinius to stir up Porsena and Octavius Mamilius against his country; impious in Coriolanus to seek aid from the Volsci; righteous in Themistocles to prefer death; Hippias, son of Pisistratus, who fell in the battle of Marathon bearing arms against his country, was criminal. But it may be said that Sulla, Marius, and Cinna had right on their side: rather I should perhaps admit that they had a technical justification; yet what could be more cruel and bloody than their use of victory? It was the nature of the war that I shrank from, and the more so because I saw that even bloodier work was being imagined and prepared. I—whom some called the preserver of this city, some its parent—I to bring against it armies of the Getæ, Armenians, and Colchians! I to inflict famine on my fellow citizens, devastation upon Italy! Cæsar, to begin with, I reflected was mortal, and in the next place might also come to an end in many ways: but the city and our people I thought ought to be preserved, as far as in us lay, for ever: and, after all, I pleased myself by hoping that some accommodation would be reached rather than the one of these men commit such a crime, or the other such an abomination. The matter is now wholly changed, and so are my feelings. The sun, as you said in one of your letters, seems to me to have disappeared from the universe. As in the case of a sick man one says, "While there is life there is hope," so, as long as Pompey was in Italy, I did not cease to hope. It is the present situation, the present, I say, that has baffled my calculations. And to confess the truth, my age, now after my long day's labour sloping towards an evening of repose, has relaxed my energies by suggesting the charms of family life. But now, however dangerous the experiment of attempting to fly hence, that experiment shall at least be made. I ought, perhaps, to have done so before. But the considerations I have mentioned held me back, and above all things your influence. For when I got to this point in my letter, I un-

rolled the volume of your letters, which I keep under seal and preserve with the greatest care. Now there were in the letter dated by you the 21st of January the following expression: "But let us first see what Gnæus is about, and in what direction his plans are drifting. Now, if he *does* abandon Italy, he will be acting certainly improperly, and, in my opinion, unwisely too. But it will be time enough, when he does that, to make a change in our policy." This you write on the fourth day after our quitting the city. Next on the 23rd of January: "May our friend Gnæus only not abandon Italy, as he has unwisely done Rome!" On the same day you write a second letter, in which you answer my application for advice in the plainest terms. This is what you say: "To come to the point on which you ask my opinion. If Gnæus quits Italy, I think you should return to the city: for what limit can there be to such a trip abroad as that?" This is what I could not get over: and I now see that attached to a most humiliating flight, which you euphemistically call a "trip abroad," is an unlimited war. Then follows your prophecy of the 25th of January: "If Pompey remains in Italy, and no terms are come to, I think there will be an unusually long war: but if he abandons Italy, I think that there awaits us in the future a really 'truceless' war." It is in such a war, then, that I am forced to be an abettor—one that is both truceless and with fellow citizens. Again, on the 7th of February, when you had heard more particulars of Pompey's designs, you end a certain letter thus: "For my part, if Pompey quits Italy, I should not advise your doing the same. For you will be running a very great risk and be doing no good to the Republic, to which you may be of some service hereafter if you remain." What patriot or statesman would not such advice, backed by the weight of wisdom and friendship, have moved? Next, on the 11th of February, you again answer my request for advice thus: "You ask me whether I advise flight, or defend delay, and consider it the better course: for the present, indeed, my opinion is that a sudden departure and hurried start would be, both for yourself and Gnæus, useless and dangerous, and I think it better that you should be separate and each on his own watch-tower. But, on my honour, I think it disgraceful for us to be thinking of flight!" This

"disgraceful" measure our friend Gnæus had contemplated two years ago: for so long a time past has his mind been set on playing the Sulla and indulging in proscriptions. Then, as I think, after you had written to me again in somewhat more general terms, and I had taken certain expressions of yours as advising me to leave Italy, you warmly disavow any such meaning on the 19th of February. "I certainly have not indicated in any letter of mine that, if Gnæus quits Italy, you should do so with him: or, if I did so express myself, I was, I don't say inconsistent, but mad." In another passage of the same letter you say: "Nothing is left for him but flight, in which I do not think, and never have thought, that you should share." This whole question again you discuss in greater detail in a letter of the 22nd of February: "If M. Lepidus and L. Volcatius stay, I think you should stay also: with the understanding, however, that, if Pompey survives and makes a stand anywhere, you should leave this *inferno*, and be more content to be beaten in the contest along with him, than reign with Cæsar in the sink of iniquity which will evidently prevail here." You adduce many arguments to support this opinion. Then at the end you say: "What if Lepidus and Volcatius depart? In that case I doubt. So I think you must acquiesce in whatever happens and whatever you have done." If you had felt doubt before, you have now, at any rate, no hesitation, since those two are still in Italy. Again, when the flight had become an accomplished fact, on the 25th of February: "Meanwhile, I feel no doubt you had better remain at Formiæ. That will be the most suitable place for waiting to see what turns up." On the 1st of March, when Pompey had been four days at Brundisium: "We shall be able to deliberate then no longer, it is true, with quite free hands, but certainly less fatally committed than if you had taken the great plunge in his company." Then on the 4th of March, though writing briefly, because it was the eve of your attack of ague, you yet use this expression: "I will write at greater length to-morrow; however, speaking generally, I will say this—that I do not repent my advice as to your staying, and though with great anxiety, yet, because I think it involves less evil than your starting would do, I abide by my opinion and rejoice that you have stayed." Moreover,

when I was now in great pain, and was fearing that I had been guilty of a base act, on the 5th of March you say: "After all, I am not sorry that you are not with Pompey. Hereafter, if it turns out to be necessary, there will be no difficulty: and at whatever time it takes place, it will be welcome to *him*. But I speak on the understanding that, if Cæsar goes on as he has begun, and acts with sincerity, moderation, and wisdom, I shall have thoroughly to reconsider the position, and to look with greater care into what is for our advantage to do." On the 9th of March you say that our friend Peducæus also approves of my having kept quiet; and his opinion has great weight with me. From these expressions in your letters I console myself with the belief that as yet I have done no wrong. Only pray justify your advice. There is no need to do so as far as I am concerned, but I want others to be in the same boat as myself. If I have done nothing wrong in the past, I will maintain the same blamelessness in the future. Only pray continue your exhortations in that direction, and assist me by communicating your thoughts. Nothing has as yet been heard here about Cæsar's return. For myself, I have got thus much good by writing this letter: I have read through all yours; and have found repose in that.

CCCLXV (A IX, II a)

TO CÆSAR (IN APULIA)

FORMIÆ, 19-20 MARCH

ON reading your letter, handed to me by our friend Furnius, in which you ask me to come to the city walls, I was not so much surprised at your wishing "to avail yourself of my advice and position," but what you meant by speaking of my "influence and assistance" I did ask myself. My thoughts, however, were so far dominated by my hope, that I was induced to think that you wished to consult for the tranquillity, peace, and harmony of our fellow citizens: and

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for a policy of that kind I regarded both my natural disposition and my public character as sufficiently well adapted. If this is the case, and if you are at all anxious to preserve our common friend Pompey, and to reconcile him to yourself and the Republic, you will assuredly find no one better calculated than myself for supporting such measures. For, as soon as opportunity offered, I pleaded for peace both to him and the senate; nor since the commencement of hostilities have I taken any part whatever in the war; and I have held the opinion that by that war you are being wronged, in that men who were hostile to and jealous of you were striving to prevent your enjoying an office granted you by the favour of the Roman people.¹ But as at that period I was not only personally a supporter of your rights, but also advised everybody else to assist you, so at the present moment I am strongly moved by consideration for the position of Pompey. It is now a good number of years ago since I picked out you two as the special objects of my political devotion, and—as you still are—of my warm personal affection. Wherefore I ask you, or rather entreat you, and appeal to you with every form of prayer, that in the midst of your very great preoccupations you would yet spare some part of your time to reflect how by your kindness I may be enabled to do what goodness and gratitude, and, in point of fact, natural affection demand, by remembering the extreme obligation under which I stand. If these considerations only affected myself, I should yet have hoped to secure your assent; but, in my opinion, it concerns both your own honour and the public interest that I—a friend to peace and to you both—should, as far as you are concerned, be maintained in a position best calculated to promote harmony between you and among our fellow citizens.

Though I have thanked you before in regard to Lentulus,²

¹ Cicero is using language which he had reason to know was such as Cæsar had himself used to L. Cæsar at Ariminum—*doluisse se, quod P. R. beneficium per contumeliam ab inimicis extorqueretur* (Cæs. B. C. i. 9). It is rather a pitiful attempt to “sit on the hedge,” considering what his real sentiments were.

² P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, consul B.C. 57, to whom we have had many letters addressed while he was in Cilicia. He had fallen into the hands of Cæsar at Corfinium, and had been dismissed unharmed.

for saving the man who saved me, yet after reading a letter from him, in which he speaks with the utmost gratitude of your generous treatment and kindness to him, I felt that the safety you gave him was given to me also: and if you perceive my gratitude in his case, pray take means to allow me to shew the same in the case of Pompey.

CCCLXVI (A IX, II)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 20 MARCH

Do you know that our friend Lentulus is at Puteoli? Having been told this by a passer-by, who said that he had recognized him on the Appia upon his partly drawing the curtain of his sedan, though it was in itself probable, I yet sent some servants to Puteoli to inquire and take him a letter. He was discovered with some difficulty, as he was keeping himself concealed in his villa, and he sent me back an answer containing wonderful expressions of gratitude to Cæsar; but as to his own plans he said that he had given C. Cæcius a message for me. I am expecting him to-day, that is, the 20th of March. Matius¹ also came to see me on the Quinquatrus (19th of March), a man, by Hercules, as he seemed to me, of moderate and sensible views. Certainly he has always been regarded as a promoter of peace. How strongly he appeared to me to disapprove what is going on in Italy! How fearful of that *inferno*, as you call it! In the course of a long conversation I shewed him Cæsar's letter to me, the one of which I have sent you a copy before, and asked him to explain the sentence in it—"he wished to avail himself of my advice, influence, position, and help in all ways." He replied that he had no doubt that he wanted

¹ C. Matius, of whom we shall hear much more, was a friend of Trebatius, and a strong Cæsarian. He survived the Civil War and became a friend of Octavian.

my help and my influence for effecting a pacification. I only wish I could effect and carry through some politic move in the present distressing circumstances of the state! For his part, Matus felt confident that that was Cæsar's feeling, and promised that he would promote it. However, on the day previous Crassipes had been with me, who said that he had quitted Brundisium on the 6th of March and had left Pompey there: and the same news was brought also by those who quitted that place on the 8th. They one and all, even Crassipes—who is a sensible enough man to take note of what was going on—tell the same story of threatening speeches, alienation from the Optimates, hostility to the municipal towns, undisguised proscriptions—Sullas pure and simple. What things Luceius says, and the whole posse of Greeks, and Theophanes at their head! And yet there is no hope of safety except in them: and I am keeping my mind on the watch, and passing sleepless nights, and yearning to be with men exactly the opposite of myself, in order to escape the abominations going on here! For there—what crime do you suppose Scipio, Faustus, Libo will stick at, whose creditors are said to be actually arranging to sell them up? What do you suppose they are likely to do to the citizens, if they turn out the winning side?¹ Moreover, what a poltroon our Gnæus is! They tell me he is thinking of Egypt, Arabia Felix, and Mesopotamia, and has now quite abandoned Spain. The reports are outrageous, but they may possibly be untrue: yet at best all is lost here, and far from safe there. I am beginning to pine for a letter from you. Since our flight there has never been so long a break in them. I send you a copy of my letter to Cæsar,² by which I think I shall do some good.

¹ Q. Cæcilius Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was deeply in debt, and Cæsar declares that to have been his motive for wishing for a civil war (Cæs. B. C. i. 4); L. Cornelius Sulla Faustus was the son of the dictator Sulla; and L. Scribonius Libo's daughter was married to Sext. Pompeius. Faustus had been a rich man, but had probably squandered his wealth. We hear of Libo afterwards as owing Cicero money, but as likely to pay.

² The previous letter, p. 337.

CCCLXVII (A IX, 12)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 20 MARCH

I HAD just read your letter on the 20th, when a packet was brought me from Lepta saying that Pompey had been completely invested, that even the channels of the harbour were blocked up with vessels. Upon my honour, tears prevent my thinking of or writing the rest. I send you a copy. What wretches we have been! Why did we not follow his fortunes to the end? Oh, here's the same news from Matius and Trebatius, who have been met by Cæsar's letter-bearers at Minturnæ. I feel so wracked with misery that I long for an end like that of Mucius.¹ Yet how honourable, how clear is your advice, how thoroughly thought out, in regard to my journey by land as well as by sea, and my meeting and conversation with Caesar! There is honour and caution alike in every word. Your invitation to Epirus, too, how kindly, how courteous, how brotherly it is! I am surprised at Dionysius, who has been treated with greater honour in my family than Panætius was in Scipio's: yet my unfortunate position has been regarded by him with the foulest contempt. I detest the fellow, and always shall. I only wish I could be even with him! But his own character will be his punishment. Yes, pray, now of all times turn over in your mind what I ought to do. An army of the Roman people is actually surrounding Gnæus Pompeius: it has inclosed him with foss and palisade; it is preventing his escape. Are we alive? Is our city still intact? Are the prætors presiding in the courts, the ædiles making preparations for their games, the Optimates entering their investments, I myself sitting quietly looking on? Am I to make an effort to reach Pompey like a madman? Am I to appeal to the loyalty of the muni-

¹ Q. Mucius Scaevola, murdered in B.C. 82 by the order of the younger Marius. See p. 282.

cial towns? The loyalists won't follow me, the careless will laugh me to scorn, the revolutionists—especially now that they are successful and fully armed—will use main force to me. What is your opinion, then? Have you any advice to give as to how to put an end to this most wretched state of existence? It is now that I feel the pang, the torture—now that some one is found to think me either wise or lucky for not having gone. My feeling is the reverse. For while I was never willing to be the partner of his victory, I should have preferred having been associated with his disaster. Why, then, should I now appeal to your letter, to your wisdom, or your kindness? It is all over. Nothing can help me now: for I have now nothing even to wish for, except to be set free by some merciful stroke of the enemy.

CCCLXVIII (A IX, 13)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 23 MARCH

"TIS no true tale"¹—as I think—that about the ships.² For in that case what would have been the meaning of Dolabella's words in his letter, dated from Brundisium on the 13th of March, when he mentioned it as a success on the part of Cæsar that Pompey was in full retreat, and was going to sail with the first favourable wind? This is quite inconsistent with those letters, of which I have already sent you copies. Here, indeed, they talk of nothing but disaster. But we have no more recent authority, and of this particular fact no better one, than Dolabella.

I have received your letter of the 22nd of March, in which you propose to postpone all plans till we know what has happened. Of course that is quite right: and meanwhile it

¹ οὐκ ἔστ' ἐνυμνος λόγος, the first words of the palinode of Stesichorus on Helen.

² Perhaps the blocking up of the harbour of Brundisium, which we know from Cæsar (*B. C. i.* 26, 27) was not completed; or the news on p. 321.

is impossible not merely to settle, but even to consider any plan. However, this letter of Dolabella's inclines me to recur to my original ideas. For on the day before the Quinquatrus (18th of March) the weather was splendid, and I suppose he has taken advantage of it. That *præcis* of your advice was not made by me by way of reproach to you, but rather to console myself. For the evils of the time were not causing me so much vexation, as the idea of my having done wrong and acted rashly. I have now got rid of that idea, since my actions and plans coincide with your suggestions. You remark in your letter that it is rather my avowal of Pompey's services, than the actual amount of them, that makes me seem to be under an obligation to him. That is true: I have always magnified them, and the more so that I might prevent his thinking that I remembered his earlier conduct. However much I might remember this, I should yet be bound to follow the example he set at that time.¹ He gave me no aid when he might have done so. True: but afterwards he was my friend, and a very warm one, I don't at all know why. Therefore I too will be his friend. Nay, more, there is this analogy in our two cases, that we have been betrayed by the same people. But oh, that it had been in my power to render him as important a service, as he was able to render me! After all, I am exceedingly grateful for what he did; yet, at the present moment, I neither know how to help him, nor, if I could, should I think I ought to assist him while preparing to engage on such an execrable war. Only I don't wish to hurt his feelings by remaining here. I should neither have the resolution, by Hercules! to watch the events, which you can even now foresee in imagination, nor to take part in those unhappy measures. But I was all the slower to depart, from the difficulty of imagining a voluntary departure when there is no hope of a return. For I see that Cæsar is so well equipped with infantry, cavalry, fleets, and Gallic auxiliaries. About these last I suppose Matius was talking big, but he certainly said that 10,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry promised their services at their own expense for ten years. But

¹ In supporting Cicero's recall, though he had failed to prevent his exile.

grant this to be *gasconnade*. He certainly has great forces, and he will not merely have the revenue of Italy, but the property of the citizens. Add to this the man's own self-confidence and the weakness of the loyalists, who, in fact, because they think Pompey deservedly enraged with them, have, as you expressed it, become disgusted with the game. Yes, but I could have wished that you had indicated who these men were. The fact is that Cæsar, because he has done much less than he threatened, is regarded with affection;¹ while in every direction those who loved Pompey now cease to do so. The municipal towns, in fact, and the Romans living in the country fear Pompey, and are still attached to Cæsar. Accordingly, the latter is so well prepared that, even if he proves unable to win a victory, I yet cannot see how he can be beaten himself. For myself, I am not so much afraid of Cæsar's sorcery, as of his power of compulsion. "For the requests of tyrants," as Plato says, "you know, partake of the nature of commands."²

I see you don't like a place of residence for me without a port. Neither do I: but the fact is I have there both a means of concealment and a trusty band of followers. If I could have had the same at Brundisium, I should have preferred it. But concealment is impossible there. However, as you say, when we know! I am not very careful to excuse myself to the loyalists. For what dinners they are giving and attending, according to Sextus's letter to me! How splendid, how early!³ But let them be as loyalist as they please, they are not more so than we are. I should have cared more for their opinion, if they had shewn more courage.

I was wrong about Phamea's estate at Lanuvium. I was dreaming of one near Troja.⁴ I wanted it for Quintus; but it is too dear. I should, however, have liked to buy

¹ Reading *sed et iste*—*amatur*. The alteration to *sedet iste* and its explanation by Boot as referring to Domitius appear to me to be very harsh. Domitius was not being by any means inactive at the time, and there is no special reason for referring to him here. It is true that *amatur* is not in the MSS., but its introduction (by Grævius) seems to me a simpler and better way of emending the text.

² Plato, *Ep.* vii.

³ That is, beginning early in the afternoon, a sign of idleness and luxury (*pro Mur.* § 13). See p. 311.

⁴ Apparently the name of some property near Antium.

that one, if I had seen any prospect of enjoying it. What frightful news we are reading every day you will understand from the small roll inclosed in this packet. Our friend Lentulus is at Puteoli, distracted with doubt, he too, as Cæcius tells me, as to what to do. He is in terror of a *contretemps* like that at Corfinium.¹ He thinks that he had done his duty to Pompey, and is affected by Cæsar's magnanimous treatment, but still more, after all, by the outlook in the future.

CCCLXIX (A IX, 13 a)

BALBUS TO CICERO (AT FORMIÆ)

ROME, 20 MARCH

CÆSAR has sent me a very short note, of which I append a copy. From the shortness of the letter you will be able to gather that he is much occupied, or he would not have written so briefly on so important a subject. If I get any farther intelligence I will at once write you word.

"CÆSAR TO OPIIUS AND CORNELIUS.

"On the 9th of March I reached Brundisium. I have pitched my camp under the walls. Pompey is at Brundisium. He sent Numerius Magius to me to negotiate for peace.² I answered as I thought right. I wished you to

¹ When Domitius and his army had had to surrender to Cæsar; P. Lentulus Spinther was among the senators who were included in the surrender and were dismissed unharmed by Cæsar (Cæs. B. C. i. 23).

² Numerius Magius was Pompey's *præfectus fabrum*. According to Cæsar (B. C. i. 24-26, see p. 303), he fell into Cæsar's hands during his march on Brundisium, and was sent by him with a message to Pompey, but did not return with any answer. Cæsar then sent Caninius Rutilius to endeavour to induce Pompey to have a personal conference. In the *Commentaries* Cæsar may, from a lapse of memory, have confused matters. Still, it looks as though in the commentary he meant to justify himself. He has represented the proposals for peace as emanat-

know this at once. As soon as I see any prospect of success in coming to terms, I will at once inform you of it."

You can imagine, my dear Cicero, my state of torturing anxiety, after having again conceived some hope of peace, lest any circumstance should prevent their coming to terms. For I earnestly wish it, which is all I can do at this distance. If I were only there, I might perhaps possibly seem of some use in the matter; as it is, I am wracked with anxious suspense.

CCCLXX (A XI, 13, § 8)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 24 MARCH

CAN you endure this? It is a lamentable business altogether, but nothing can be more lamentable than this: Pompey has sent N. Magius to negotiate a peace, and yet is being besieged. I could not have believed it, but I have a letter from Balbus, of which I inclose a copy. Read it, I beg of you, and especially the last clause of the excellent Balbus himself, to whom our Gnæus presented a site for a suburban villa, and whom he often preferred, did he not? to everyone of us! Accordingly, the poor man is in a state of painful anxiety. But to save you the trouble of reading the same thing twice, I refer you to the letter itself. Hope of peace, however, I have none. Dolabella in his letter dated the 15th of March breathes nothing but war. Let us stick, then, to the same resolution, formed in sorrow and despair, since nothing can be more lamentable than this.

ing from himself, whereas the letter shews that they came from Pompey. It may, however, be that when Magius is said to have been *depressus ex itinere* he was really on his way with a message from Pompey.

CCCLXXI (A IX, 14)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 25 MARCH

I HAD sent you, on the 24th of March, a copy of a letter from Balbus to me and of Cæsar's to him. Lo and behold, on the same day I receive a letter from Q. Pedius, from Capua, telling me that Cæsar had written to him on the 14th of March in the following words: "Pompey keeps himself in the town. Our camp is at the gates. We are attempting a difficult operation, and one which will occupy many days, owing to the depth of the sea; but nevertheless it is the best thing for us to do. We are throwing out moles from both headlands at the mouth of the harbour, in order to compel Pompey to take the forces he has at Brundisium across as soon as possible, or to prevent his getting out at all."¹

Where is the peace, as to which Balbus said that he was in a state of anxiety? Could there be anything more vindictive, more ruthless? Moreover, a certain person told me on good authority that Cæsar gives out that he is avenging Cn. Carbo, M. Brutus,² and all those on whom Sulla, with Pompey's assistance, had wreaked his cruelty; that Curio was doing nothing under his leadership which Pompey had not done under Sulla's; that he was seeking the restoration

¹ Cæsar occupied nine days in this work, which was only half completed then. He did not really expect to be able thoroughly to block the harbour. His object was to frighten Pompey into leaving Italy, thus leaving him free to enter Rome himself and secure his position in the West generally (*B. C. i.* 25-28).

² Carbo was put to death by Pompey in B.C. 82 or the beginning of B.C. 81 at Cossyra. There were two men named M. Brutus who owed their death to Pompey, the former a partisan of Carbo, who committed suicide off Lilybæum rather than fall into Pompey's hands; the other, the father of the tyrannicide, whom Pompey put to death at Regium B.C. 77 during the troubles caused by Lepidus, he having surrendered, it is said, on promise of his life.

of those whose exile had not been inflicted upon them by earlier laws, while Pompey had restored men who had been traitors to their country; that he complained of the violence used to secure Milo's exile, but that, nevertheless, he would harm no one unless he appeared in array against him.

This is the story told by a certain Bæbius, who left Curio on the 13th, a man who is not without some sense, but yet not capable of inventing this out of his own head. I am quite at a loss what to do. From Brundisium, indeed, I suppose Pompey has already started. Whatever has happened, we shall know in two days. I haven't a line from you, not even by Anteros. No wonder: for what is there for us to write about? Nevertheless, I don't omit a single day.

P.S.—After this letter was written, I got a letter from Lepta before daybreak dated from Capua on the 15th of March. Pompey has embarked from Brundisium, but Cæsar will be at Capua on the 26th of March.

CCCLXXII (A IX, 15)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 25 MARCH

AFTER I had despatched the letter informing you that Cæsar would be at Capua on the 26th, I received one from Capua saying that he would be in Curio's Alban villa on the 28th.¹ When I have seen him I shall go to Arpinum. If he grants me the indulgence I ask for,² I shall avail myself of his terms: if not, I shall take my own line without consulting anyone but myself.³ Cæsar, as he has informed me, has stationed a legion at Brundisium, Tarentum, and

¹ Messrs. Tyrrell and Purser adopt a conjecture of Madvig's, *et hic copiam mihi et in Albano*, etc., which will mean: a letter-informing me "that I can have an interview with Cæsar either here or in Curio's Alban villa."

² *I.e.*, leave to absent himself from the senate, and to take neither side in the war.

³ Lit. "I shall ask and obtain something from myself." He means,

Sipontum respectively. He appears to me to be closing up exits by sea, and yet himself to have his eyes on Greece rather than on Spain. But these considerations are still remote. For the present I am at once excited by the idea of meeting him (and that is now close at hand), and alarmed as to his first political steps. For he will, I presume, want a decree of the senate, and also a decree of the augurs: we shall be hurried off to Rome or molested, if we hold aloof, with a view of either the prætor holding an election of consuls or naming a dictator, neither of which is constitutional.¹ Although, if Sulla was able to secure being named dictator by an *interrex*, why should he not be able to do so? I see no way out of it, except either meeting the fate of Q. Mucius from the one, or of L. Scipio² from the other. By the time you read this, I shall perhaps have had my interview with him. "Endure! still worse a fate"³—no, not even my own old misfortune! In that case there was a hope of a speedy return, there was universal remonstrance. In the present instance I am eager to quit the country, with what hope of return I cannot ever conceive. Again, not only is there no remonstrance on the part of townsmen and countryfolk, but, on the contrary, they are actually afraid of Pompey as blood-thirsty and enraged. Nevertheless, nothing makes me more wretched than to have stayed here, and there is nothing that I more earnestly desire than to fly away, not so much to share in a war as in a flight. But you were for putting off all plans until such time as we knew what had happened at Brundisium. Well, we now know: but we are as undecided as ever. For I can scarcely hope that he will grant me this indulgence; although I have many fair pleas for obtaining it. However, I will at once send you a verbatim report of everything he says to me and I to him. Pray strive with all the affection you have for me to assist me by your caution and wisdom. Cæsar is travelling hither at such a pace, that I am unable to have an interview even with Titus Rebilus,

apparently, that he will go to Pompey, but he doesn't want to say so clearly.

¹ See pp. 330-331.

² Who was proscribed by Sulla. For Scævola see p. 282.

³ Homer, *Odys.* xx. 18: τέτλαθι δὴ, κραδίη, καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης. "Endure, oh heart! still worse hast borne before."

as I had settled upon doing. I have to conduct the whole business without preparation. Yet, as the hero in the *Odyssey* says :

“Some my own heart, and some will God suggest.”¹

Whatever I do you shall know promptly. The demands of Cæsar sent to Pompey and the consuls, for which you ask, I do not possess : nor did Lucius Cæsar bring them in writing.² I sent you at the time an account from which you might gather what the demands were. Philippus is at Naples, Lentulus at Puteoli. As to Domitius, continue your inquiries as to where he is, and what he contemplates doing.

You say that I have written more bitterly about Dionysius than suits my character. See what an old-fashioned man I am ! I thought, upon my honour, that you would be annoyed at this affair more than I was myself. For, besides the fact that I think you ought to be moved by an injury done me by anyone, this man has also in a certain sense outraged yourself in having behaved badly to me. But what account you should take of this it is for you to judge. However, in this matter I don't wish to lay any burden upon you. For my part, I always thought him half cracked, now I think him a scoundrel and a good-for-nothing besides : and yet, after all, not a worse enemy to me than to himself. What you said to Philargyrus was quite right : you certainly have a clear and good case in proving that I had been abandoned rather than had abandoned. When I had already despatched my letter on the 25th, the servants whom I had sent with Matius and Trebatius brought me a letter, of which this is a copy :

“MATIUS AND TREBATIUS TO CICERO IMPERATOR.

“After leaving Capua we heard, while on the road, that Pompey, with all the forces he had, started from Brundisium

¹ Mentor (or, rather, Athene in the guise of Mentor), *Odys.* iii. 27.

Τηλέμαχ' ἄλλα μὲν αὐτὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ σῆσι νοήσεις
ἄλλα δὲ καὶ δαίμων ὑποθήσεται.

² The text of this passage is hopelessly corrupt. I have taken tentatively Schütz's reading, *neque descripta attulit illa Lucius*. The reference is thus to the proposals sent in January by Cæsar to the consuls and Pompey by L. Cæsar and the prætor Roscius (*Cæs. B. C.* i. 9-10 ; Letter CCCXIV, p. 257).

on the 15th of March: that Cæsar next day entered the town, made a speech, hurried thence for Rome, intending to be at the city before the 1st of April and to remain there a few days, and then to start for Spain. We thought it the proper thing to do, since we were assured of Cæsar's approach, to send your servants back to you, that you might be informed of it as early as possible. We do not forget your charges, and we will carry them out as circumstances shall demand. Trebatius is making great exertions to reach you before Cæsar. After this letter had been written we received tidings that Cæsar would stop at Beneventum on the 25th of March, at Capua on the 26th, at Sinuessa on the 27th. We think you may depend on this."

CCCLXXIII (A IX, 16)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 26 MARCH

THOUGH I have nothing to write to you about, yet I send you this that I may not omit a single day. On the 27th it is announced that Cæsar will stop at Sinuessa. I received a letter from him on the 26th, in which he now talks of looking forward to my "resources," not my "aid,"¹ as in his former letter. I had written to compliment him on the moderation of his conduct at Corfinium, and he answered me as follows:

"CÆSAR IMPERATOR TO CICERO IMPERATOR.

"You judge me quite accurately—for my character is well known to you—when you say that nothing is more remote from my disposition than cruelty. For myself, as I take great delight in this policy for its own sake, so your approval of my action gives me a triumphant feeling of glad-

¹ The distinction between the plural *opes* and the singular *opem* can hardly be given by one word in English.

ness. Nor am I shaken by the fact that those, who were allowed to go free by me, are said to have departed with the intention of renewing the war against me: for there is nothing I like better than that I should be what I am, they what they are. I should be much obliged if you would meet me at the city, that I may, as ever, avail myself in all matters of your counsels and resources. Let me assure you that nothing gives me more pleasure than the presence of your son-in-law Dolabella. This additional favour I shall owe to him:¹ for it will be impossible for him to act otherwise, considering his great kindness, his feeling, and his cordial goodwill towards myself."

CCCLXXIV (A IX, 17)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 27 MARCH

I AM expecting Trebatius on the 27th, the day I write this letter. From his report and the letter from Matius I shall consider what line to take in my conversation with Cæsar. What an unfortunate crisis! I feel no doubt that he will urge me to come to the city. For he ordered a notice to be put up at Formiæ, among other places, that he desired a full meeting of the senate on the 1st. Well, then, ought I to refuse him? But why anticipate? I will write you word at once of all that occurs. I will judge from what he says whether I am to go to Arpinum or elsewhere. I want to give my son his *toga virilis*. I think of doing it there. Pray consider what should be my next step, for troubles have made me stupid. I should like to know from Curius whether you have received any news of Tiro. For to me Tiro has himself written in such a tone as to alarm me about his health. Those, too, who come from those parts report that he is in a critical condition. This anxiety, in the

¹ *I.e.*, Cicero's presence at Rome.

midst of my other great ones, gives me much uneasiness : for in my present position his services, as well as his fidelity, would have been of great advantage.

CCCLXXV (A IX, 18)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ARPINUM, 29 MARCH

I FOLLOWED your advice in both particulars : for I spoke in such a manner as rather to gain his respect than his thanks, and I stuck to the resolution of not going to Rome. I found myself mistaken in one respect—in thinking that he would be easily satisfied. I never saw anything less so. He kept remarking that he was condemned by my decision, that the rest would be the slower to come, if I did not do so. I remarked that their case was unlike mine. After much discussion he said, "Come, then, and discuss the question of peace." "At my own discretion?" said I. "Am I to prescribe to you?" said he. "My motion will be this," said I, "that the senate disapproves of any going to Spain or taking armies across to Greece, and," I added, "I shall make many regretful remarks as to Gnæus." Thereupon he said, "Of course, I don't wish such things said." "So I supposed," said I, "but I must decline being present there, because I must either speak in this sense, and say many things which I could not possibly pass over, if present, or I must not come at all." The upshot was that, by way of ending the discussion, he requested that I would think it over. I couldn't say no to that. So we parted. I feel certain, therefore, that *he* has no love for me. But I felt warm satisfaction with myself, which hasn't been the case for some time past. For the rest, good heavens! What a crew! What an *inferno*! to use your word. . . .¹ What a

¹ Some other words (*in qua erat erosceleri*) occur here, manifestly corrupt, of which nothing can be made.

gang of bankrupts and desperadoes! What is one to say of a son of Servius, a son of Tullus having been in the camp by which Pompey was besieged? Six legions! He is extraordinarily vigilant, extraordinarily bold: I see no limit to the mischief. Now, at any rate, it is time for you to bring out your counsels. This is where you drew the line. Yet his closing remark in our interview, which I had almost forgotten to mention, was very offensive, that "if he was not allowed to avail himself of my counsels, he would avail himself of such as he could, and would scruple at nothing." "So you have seen with your own eyes," say you, "that the man is such as you described him to be. Did it cost you a sigh?" Yes, indeed. "Tell me the rest." Well, he went straight off to his villa at Pedum, I to Arpinum. Next I await the "twittering swallow"—to which you refer.¹ "Come," you will say, "don't cry over spilt milk:" even the leader himself, whom we are following, has made many mistakes."

But I wait for a letter from you. For you can't say, as in former ones, "Let us see how this turns out." The final test was to be our meeting, and in that I feel certain I have offended him. All the more prompt must be my next step. Pray send me a packet, and full of politics! I am very anxious for a letter from you.

¹ *Λαλαγεῦσαν illam*, which seems a certain restoration of the Greek letters of the MSS., as is explained by Letter CCCLXI, p. 326, where he quotes another part of the Greek epigram (*Anth.* x. 1), on the season for sailing announced by the swallow, harbinger of spring:

ὁ πλόος ὥραϊος· καὶ γὰρ λαλαγεῦσα χελιδὼν
ἤδη μὲμβλωκεν χά χαρίεις Ζέφυρος,
λειμώνες δ' ἀνθεῦσι, σείσθηκεν δὲ θάλασσα
κύμασι καὶ τρηχεὶ πνεύματι βρασσομένη.

"See the meads bloom! the time has come for sailing:
The twittering swallow hails spring here at last.
Hushed is the sea, the soft west wind prevailing,
Late swollen with waves and lashed with bitter blast."

Of course, Cicero means that he will sail, as soon as weather permits, to join Pompey.

² *Actum ne agas* (see p. 322). It should be noticed that in this account of the interview with Cæsar the name of Cæsar does not occur, perhaps from caution.

CCCLXXVI (A IX, 19)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ARPINUM, 1 APRIL

BEING debarred from Rome, I gave my son his *toga virilis* at Arpinum in preference to any other place, and my fellow townsmen were gratified at the compliment: though I observed everywhere that both they and others whom I passed in my journey were in low spirits and much dejected. So melancholy and shocking is the contemplation of this tremendous disaster. Levies are being held, the men are being drafted into winter quarters. These are measures which, even when taken by loyal citizens at a time of regular war and with due consideration, are yet in themselves a source of annoyance—how unpopular do you suppose they are in the present instance, when they are being carried out by men of reckless character, in an abominable civil war, and in the most offensive manner? Don't imagine that there is a single scoundrel in Italy who is not to be found among them. I saw them *en masse* at Formiæ. I never, by Hercules! believed them to be human beings, and I knew them all: but I had never seen them collected in one place. Let us go, then, whither we have resolved to go, and leave all that is ours behind us. Let us start to join him, to whom our arrival will give greater satisfaction than if we had been together from the first. For at that time we were in the highest hopes, now I, at any rate, have none; nor has anyone except myself left Italy, unless he regarded Cæsar as his personal enemy. Nor, by Hercules! do I do this for the sake of the Republic, which I regard as completely abolished: but to prevent anyone thinking me ungrateful to the man, who relieved me from the miseries which he had himself inflicted upon me: and at the same time because I cannot endure the sight of what is happening, or of what is certain to happen. Why, I believe that by this time some decrees of the senate have

been passed, I hope they may be in the sense of Volcatius's proposal.¹ But what does it matter? Everyone's opinion is the same. But Servius will be the most implacable of all, for he has sent his son with Pontius Titinianus² to crush, or at any rate to capture, Gnæus Pompeius. Yet the latter acts from a motive of fear: but the former? But let us cease shewing temper, and let us at last thoroughly realize that we have nothing left, except what I could least have wished—life. As for us, since the Upper Sea is beset, we will sail by the Lower, and if it turns out to be difficult to start from Puteoli, we will make for Croton or Thurii, and like good citizens, devoted to our country, we will play the pirate. I don't see any other way of carrying on this war. We will go to Egypt and ensconce ourselves there. We cannot possibly be his match on land: of peace there is no assurance. But enough of these lamentations. Pray give a letter to Cephalio on everything that has been done, and even about what men say, unless they have become entirely tongue-tied. I have followed your advice, and especially in the fact that, in my interview with him, I both maintained my proper dignity and stuck to my refusal to go to Rome. As to the rest, pray write to me with the most particular care—for by this time the worst has come to the worst—what course you approve, and what your opinion is. There can, of course, be now no hesitation: still, if anything *does* occur to you, or rather whatever occurs to you, pray write me word.

¹ Perhaps in favour of sending commissioners to treat with Pompey. Such a proposal was made in the senate. Cæsar tells us that he spoke in favour of it himself, but he does not mention the proposer (Cæs. B. C. i. 32, 33).

² Adopted son of Q. Titinius. Servius is Ser. Sulpicius Rufus. See last letter, p. 354.

CCCLXXVII (A X, 1)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

LATERIUM, 3 APRIL

HAVING arrived at my brother's house at Laterium on the 3rd of April, I received your letter and felt a moment of relief—a thing that hadn't happened to me since these disasters. For I value very highly your approval of my firmness of mind and my course of action. As your announcement that our friend Sextus also approves, the joy that that gives me is as though I imagined myself to be receiving the approbation of his father, for whom I always had a peculiar and special regard. It was he, as I am often accustomed to recall, who, in old times, on the famous 5th of December, when I said, "What to do then, Sextus?" answered me by quoting:

"Ah, not a coward's death, nor shorn of fame,
But after some high deed to live for aye."¹

His influence, therefore, is still living for me, and his son, who is extremely like him, has the same importance in my eyes as he once had. Pray give him my very kindest regards.

You certainly defer giving advice, though not to a very distant date; for I imagine by this time that that suborned peacemaker² has had his say, and that some decision has

¹ Homer, *Il.* xxii. 304.

μη μὲν ἀσπουδί γε καὶ ἀκλειῶς ἀπολοίμην,
ἀλλὰ μέγα ρίξας τι καὶ ἰσσομένοισι πυθίσθαι.

Cicero omits the word ἀπολοίμην, which he expects Atticus, as usual, to supply, but not from such design (I think) as Prof. Tyrrell suggests. The speaker is Sextus Peducæus, the circumstance the question of how to deal with the Catilinarian conspirators. Peducæus means, "Strike hard, whatever the consequences to yourself." Quotations seldom exactly represent a man's meaning. They only suggest it.

² Probably Curio is meant, whose support Cæsar, as we have heard, had purchased in the previous year. Others suggest Lepidus.

been arrived at in the convention of senators—for I don't consider it a senate—nevertheless, you do keep one in suspense as to what it is to be, yet the less so because I feel no hesitation as to what we ought to do. For when you write word that a legion and Sicily are being offered to Flavius, and that that business is already being carried out, what crimes must you think are partly being actually proposed and meditated, partly will crop up in the future? I, for my part, shall disregard the law of Solon—your countryman, and presently, I think, to be mine—who punished by disfranchisement the man who, in a case of civil disturbance, took neither side. Unless you think otherwise, I shall hold aloof both from the one and the other. But one of the two courses is more decidedly resolved upon in my mind, and yet I will not anticipate. I shall await your advice and the letter (unless you have by this time sent another) which I asked you to deliver to Cephalio. You say, not because you have heard it from anyone else, but because it is your personal belief, that I shall be drawn into any negotiation there may be about peace. I have no idea at all of any negotiation for peace being possible, since it is Caesar's most fixed determination, if he can, to strip Pompey of his army and province,¹ unless, perchance, that well-paid friend of yours can persuade him to keep quiet long enough to allow commissioners to go and return. I see nothing to hope for or to think of as possible. Nevertheless, this is itself a point for an honest man to consider: it is important and among the problems of *l'haute politique*²—whether one ought to appear at the council-board of a tyrant, if he is going to discuss some subject good in itself. Wherefore, if anything should turn up of a sort to lead to my being summoned—which for my part does not give me any anxiety, for I have said what I intended saying about peace, and Caesar himself emphatically repudiated it—but if anything should turn up, write and tell me in any case what you think I ought to do. For nothing has as yet occurred to me requiring more de-

¹ Spain, which was being governed for Pompey by three legates, forced by Caesar in the following summer to surrender.

² Tyrrell and Purser give a different complexion to this sentence by introducing *ut non* before *magnum*, and *sit* after it, "Even supposing it not to be a problem of *haute politique*," etc.

liberation. I rejoice that you are pleased with the words of Trebatius, a good man and a good citizen; and your own frequent exclamation of "excellent" has been the one thing up to now that has given me pleasure. I am looking eagerly for a letter from you, which, indeed, I feel sure is already on its way. You, along with Sextus, have maintained the same dignified resolve as you enjoin upon me. Your friend Celer is rather a man of learning than of good sense. What Tullia has told you about our young men is true. What you mention¹ in your letter does not appear to me to be so formidable in fact as in sound. It is this state of distraction in which we now are that is a kind of death. I had two alternatives before me—either to continue active political life among the disloyal with freedom of action, or to side with the loyalists at whatever risk. Let me either follow the foolhardy counsels of the loyalists, or attack the reckless measures of the disloyal. Either is dangerous: but what I am now doing is discreditable and yet not safe. I think that your friend who sent his son to Brundisium² to negotiate a peace (I am quite of your opinion as to peace, that it is a palpable pretence, and that war is being prepared with the utmost energy) will be commissioned, not myself; of which as yet no word, to my great relief, has been said. I therefore think it the less necessary to write, or even to consider what I should do, if I should happen to be commissioned.

CCCLXXVIII (A X, 2)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ARCANUM, 6 APRIL

HAVING received your letter on the 5th of April, which Cephalio brought, and intending to stop the next day at Minturnæ, meaning to start back thence at once, I broke

¹ A word here is in the MSS. *maconi*, of which nothing can be made. Various emendations have been suggested, but none are satisfactory. Perhaps *νάρκημα* or *νάρκηδες*, "numbness."

² Servius Sulpicius Rufus (see p. 397).

my journey at my brother's house at Arcanum, in order that, until I got more certain intelligence, I might be in a more retired place, and yet all the preparations should go on which do not require my presence. The "twitterer"¹ is now here, and I am all eagerness to be gone; and yet I have no idea of destination or route. But these points I and those who understand such things will have to settle. Yet pray, to the best of your power, continue to aid us as before with your advice. Things are in an impossible tangle. Everything has to be left to chance. We are struggling along without any hope. If anything better turns up, it will be a surprise. I would rather Dionysius, of whom Tullia has written me word, had not set out to join me. The truth is that it is not a suitable time, nor do I wish that my discomforts—especially considering their gravity—should furnish a spectacle to a man who is not my friend, and I don't want you to be at enmity with him on my account.

CCCLXXIX (A X, 3)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ARCANUM, 7 APRIL

THOUGH I have absolutely nothing to write about, yet there are these remaining points which I want to know—whether Cæsar has started; in what position he has left the city; in Italy itself, whom he has placed at the head of each region or department of business; and who were sent to Pompey and the consuls as peace commissioners, in accordance with the decree of the senate? So to ascertain these facts I make a point of sending this letter to you. You will be doing me, therefore, a great service, and one I shall be grateful for, if you will inform me on these points and any other that it is necessary to know. I shall stay in Arcanum until I get the information.

¹ See p. 354.

CCCLXXX (A X, 3 a)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ARCANUM, 7 APRIL

I AM dictating this letter on the 7th of April—the second on the same day—and I wrote a longer one the day before with my own hand. They say that you have appeared at the Regia,¹ and I don't blame you, seeing that I have not shrunk from incurring the like criticism.² But I await a letter from you. I really don't see now what I have to expect, but nevertheless, even if there is nothing to say, I should like you to write and tell me only that. Cæsar writes to say that he excuses my non-appearance, and declares that he doesn't take it at all amiss. I am not disturbed by what he tells me about Tullus and Servius, that they have grumbled at his not having given them the same licence as he did to me. Absurd fellows! To send their sons to besiege Gnæus Pompeius,³ and then to scruple about coming to the senate themselves! However, I am sending you a copy of Cæsar's letter.

CCCLXXXI (A X, 4)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CUMÆ, 14 APRIL

I HAVE received a large number of letters from you on the same day, all carefully written; one, however, which amounts to a volume, deserving to be read again and again, as I am doing. The labour of writing it was not thrown away, and I am excessively obliged to you. Wherefore, as long as circumstances allow of it, that is, as long as you know where I

¹ The official residence of Cæsar as Pontifex Maximus.

² That is, by having an interview with Cæsar.

³ P. 354.

am, I earnestly beg of you to repeat the experiment as often as possible. Yes, indeed: let there be once for all an end, if possible, to these daily lamentations, or at any rate some sort of restraint in them, which at least *is* possible. For it is not now the rank, the honours, or the position in life which I have lost that I am thinking of, but what I have actually attained to, the services I have performed, the reputation in which I have lived: in fine, the difference, even in these disastrous circumstances, between myself and those through whom I have lost all. These are the men who thought that, without expelling me from the state, they could not maintain the free gratification of their desires; and you see to what this close alliance and unprincipled coalition of theirs has come!

The one leader is in a fever of mad fury and crime: there is no slackening with him: his hand grows heavier every day. Not long ago he expelled Pompey from Italy. Now on one side of the empire he is for pursuing him, on the other for stripping him of his province. He no longer refuses, he even in a sense demands, to have the title of tyrant, as he already is one in fact. The other—the man who once upon a time did not so much as raise me up when I threw myself at his feet—the man who said he could do nothing against Cæsar's wish—having evaded the hand and sword of his father-in-law, is now preparing war by land and sea: not an unjust one on his part indeed, but both righteous and even necessary, but yet one fatal to his fellow citizens unless he prove victorious, fraught with disaster even if he is victorious.

Not only do I not rate the achievements of these supreme commanders as superior to my own: I do not even consider that their present position is any better, though they seem to be in a very brilliant one, and I to be struggling with a harder fate. For who can be happy who has caused either the abandonment or the invasion of his country? And if, as you remind me, I was right in saying in these books that the only good was virtue, the only evil vice, certainly both those men are in the highest degree miserable, for to both the safety and dignity of their country have always been subordinate to their own power and their private advantage. I am therefore sustained by the purity of my conscience, when

I reflect that I either performed the most eminent services to the state, when I had the power, or at least never harboured any but loyal thoughts; and that the Republic has been wrecked by precisely the storm which I foresaw fourteen years ago. With such feelings, then, as my companions, shall I set out, not indeed without a bitter pang, and that, not so much for my own or my brother's sake (for our life is practically over) as for our sons, for whom at times it seems to me that we were bound to have secured, among other things, the integrity of the constitution. Of them the one, because he is not after all more dutiful than he is, gives me extraordinary pain: while the other—Oh dear! Oh dear! it is the keenest sorrow of my life—corrupted no doubt by our system of indulgence, has gone very far, to a point indeed which I do not venture to describe.¹ I am expecting, too, a letter from you: for you said that you would write at greater length when you had seen the young man himself. All my indulgent conduct to him has been accompanied with considerable strictness, and it is not one only or a small peccadillo of his that I have come down upon, but many and very serious ones; his father's gentleness to him also ought to have secured his affection, rather than such unfeeling disrespect. The fact is that his writing to Cæsar caused us such serious annoyance, that, while we concealed it from you, we yet, I think, made his own life unpleasant. This recent journey of his, however, and his pretence of loyalty to us² I do not venture to characterize. I only know that after visiting Hirtius he was invited to an interview by Cæsar, that he talked to him about my feeling as being entirely opposed to his own views, and of my design of quitting Italy. Even this I do not write with confidence. Well, it is not my fault, it is his natural disposition that must cause us alarm. It was this that corrupted Curio and the son of Hortensius, not their fathers' fault. My brother is prostrate

¹ Neither Cicero's son nor his nephew, apparently, were keen enough anti-Cæsarians. His son gave him much anxiety by his conduct in early life, and the nephew not only now shewed his Cæsarian leanings, but after Pharsalia turned fiercely on his uncle, as having involved them in a losing cause, and was joined in that by his father Quintus.

² Young Quintus had insisted on going to Rome to interview Cæsar, professing to plead his father's and uncle's cause, but really, Cicero thinks, denouncing them and repudiating their policy.

with grief, and is not so much afraid for his own life as for mine. To this misery pray, pray, bring any consolations that you can; above all I should prefer one—the assurance that the story told us is false or exaggerated. If it is true, I don't see what is to happen in our present state of life, when we are practically exiles. For if the Republic had still had any existence, I should have been at no loss what to do either by way of severity or indulgence. Whether it is the influence of anger, or pain, or fear, I have written this in a tone of greater severity than either your affection for him or mine would seem to warrant. If it is true, you must pardon me: if false, I shall be only too glad to be relieved of my mistake by you. But whatever the truth of the matter may be, you must not attribute any blame to his uncle or father.

I had written so far when a message was brought from Curio's house that he was coming to call on me. He had arrived at his Cuman villa yesterday, that is, the 13th. If his conversation, therefore, furnishes me with any subject worth writing to you, I will append it to this letter.

Curio passed by my villa and sent me a message to say that he was coming presently, and hurried on to Puteoli to make a public speech there. He made his speech, returned, and paid me a very long visit. Monstrous! You know our friend: he made no concealments. To begin with, he said that it was absolutely certain that all who had been condemned under the *lex Pompeia*¹ were being recalled,² and that accordingly he would avail himself of their services in Sicily. As to the Spains, he had no doubt about their being Cæsar's; and from them Cæsar would himself march with an army wherever Pompey was: that an end would be put to the whole mischief by the latter's death: that in an access of anger Cæsar had really wished the tribune Metellus to be killed,³ and that it was within an ace of being done:

¹ The law passed by Pompey in his third consulship (B.C. 52) on bribery and violence. The Cæsarian view was that the laws had been passed, and the trials held, under terrorism, as Pompey had an armed guard in the city.

² This measure was carried out by Antony under Cæsar's direction (2 *Phil.* § 56 *seq.*). See p. 396.

³ When Cæsar was at Rome after Pompey's flight from Brundisium, he found it impossible to get the measures he wished passed in the

if it had been done, there would have followed a serious massacre : that a great many people advised one : that Cæsar himself was not by taste or nature averse from bloodshed, but thought clemency would win him popularity : if, however, he once lost the affection of the people, he would be cruel : he was, again, much disturbed by finding that he had caused ill-feeling among the populace itself by taking the treasury, and therefore that, though he had quite made up his mind to address the people before leaving Rome, he had not ventured to do so, and had started with very disturbed feelings.¹ When again I asked what he saw in the future, what final result, and what sort of a constitution, he openly confessed that there was no hope left. He expressed fear of Pompey's fleet, and said that, if it put out to sea, he should abandon Sicily. "What is the meaning of your lictors?" said I. "If derived from the senate, why laurelled? If from Cæsar, why six?" "I wanted," said he, "to get my authority from a decree of the senate, though by a snatch vote, for it could not be done otherwise. But Cæsar now dislikes the senate much more than ever. 'Everything,' he says, 'will in future come from me.'" "But why six?" "Because I did not want twelve; I might have had them." Then I said, "How I wish I had asked him for what I hear Philippus² has succeeded in getting! But I was afraid to

senate, because his enemies put up the tribune L. Cæcilius Metellus to veto every proposal (Cæsar, *B. C.* i. 33).

¹ This is a striking comment upon Cæsar by one of his own partisans; and, though Cæsar falsified it by persistent clemency to most of his citizen opponents, there are circumstances in the Gallic campaigns which make us hesitate to acquit Cæsar altogether of cruelty. Curio's character, however, takes much from his credibility as a witness or critic.

² Curio was going to Sicily with *imperium*. The governor of Sicily was regularly a prætor or proprætor, and would have six lictors. But Curio, not having been elected prætor, or nominated by the senate, was really a *legatus* of Cæsar's, and might have whatever status—*pro consule* or *pro prætore*—that Cæsar chose. If Curio had only the six lictors by way of posing as a proprætor constitutionally nominated by the senate, then the laurels were out of place: for such successes as he had gained were gained before the senate could have nominated him, and were also over citizens, for which no insignia of victory were ever assumed.

³ Married to Atia, niece of Cæsar and mother of Augustus. He was a strong Optimate, and was allowed by Cæsar to live where he chose away from Rome, and take no part in the quarrel.

ask, as I had made no concession to him." "He would have gladly given you leave," said he: "indeed, consider that you have obtained it; for I will write and tell him, exactly as you like, that we have spoken on the subject. What does it matter to him, since you do not attend the senate, where you are? Nay, at this very moment you would not have damaged his cause in the least by having quitted Italy." In answer to this I said that I was looking out for some retired and solitary spot, chiefly because I still had lictors. He commended my design. "What do you say to this, then?" said I. "My course to Greece lies through your province, since the coast of the Mare Superum is guarded by troops." "Nothing I should like better," said he. On this subject he spoke at great length and in a very courteous tone. So then I have gained this much, that I can sail not only in safety, but even without concealment. All other subjects of discussion he put off till the next day; and, if any of them seem worth a letter, I will write and tell you. But there are some things which I omitted to ask him: whether Cæsar intended to wait for an *interregnum*, or what he meant by saying, as he did, that he was offered the consulship, but refused it for the next year. And there are other points on which I will question him. To crown all he swore—as he usually makes no difficulty of doing—that Cæsar must be very fond of me. "Why, what," continued he, "did Dolabella write to me?" "Pray tell me what." He then declared that Dolabella had written to say that, for having desired me to come to the city, Cæsar had thanked him warmly, and not only expressed approbation, but joy. In short, I was relieved. For the suspicion of domestic treachery and of the conversation with Hirtius was removed.¹ How I long for young Quintus to be worthy of us, and how I encourage myself to believe what is in his favour! But need he have visited Hirtius? There is, no doubt, some motive or other; but I would wish it as slight as possible. And, after all, I am surprised at his not yet having returned. But we shall see about all this. Please

¹ He thinks that if his nephew Quintus had, as he suspected, abused him to Cæsar or his friend Hirtius, Cæsar would not have spoken thus kindly of him.

put the Oppii at Terentia's service. For that is the only danger in the city now.¹ For myself, however, give me the benefit of your advice, as to whether I should go to Rhegium by land, or start straight from this place on board ship, and on other points; for I am still staying here. I shall have something to write to you about as soon as I have seen Curio again. Pray be as careful as ever to let me know how Tiro is.

CCCLXXXII (F VIII, 16)

M. CÆLIUS RUFUS TO CICERO (AT FORMIÆ)

ON THE ROAD TO SPAIN,² (16) APRIL

BEING mortally alarmed by your letter, in which you shewed that your mind was filled with gloomy ideas, without saying outright what they were, and yet betraying the kind of action which you were contemplating, I write this letter to you on the spot. In the name of your fortunes and your children, my dear Cicero, I beg and beseech you not rashly to imperil your safety and security. I protest in the name of gods and men, and of our friendship, that I told you beforehand, and that my warning was not given inconsiderately, but that after meeting Cæsar, and ascertaining what his view would be, if he gained the victory, I informed you of it. If you think that Cæsar will maintain the same policy in letting his adversaries go and offering terms, you are mistaken. His thoughts, and even his words, forebode nothing but severity and cruelty. He left town incensed with the senate: he was thoroughly roused by the recent tribunician intercessions:³ there will be no place, by heaven,

¹ The money difficulty. The Oppii were money-lenders (see pp. 249, 289). I translate the MS. reading, *unum periculum*. Gronovius conjectured *vanum*, "the danger of remaining in the city is now groundless." I think Cicero, however, means that Terentia's only difficulty will be to get ready money.

² Probably near Marseilles, where Cæsar stopped on his way to Spain for some weeks to organize its siege.

³ The intercessions of Metellus. See previous letter, p. 364

for mediation. Wherefore, if you love yourself, if you love your only son, if your family and your remaining hopes are dear to you: if I, or that excellent man your son-in-law, have any influence with you—and you surely ought not to wish to ruin us, in order to force us to choose between loathing and abandoning the cause, on the triumph of which our safety depends, or harbouring an unnatural wish against your safety. Finally consider this: whatever offence your hesitation has caused Pompey you have already incurred; it would be a piece of most consummate folly to act against Cæsar now that he is victorious, when you refused to attack him while his fortunes were doubtful—to join the men after they have been driven into flight, whom you refused to follow when they were holding their ground. Take care lest, while feeling ashamed of not being a good enough Optimate, you fail to select the *best* course for yourself. But if I can't persuade you to take my advice *in toto*, at least wait till it is known how we get on in the Spanish provinces, which I have to tell you will be ours as soon as Cæsar arrives. What hope your people have when the Spains are lost I don't know. Of what, then, you can be thinking to join men in so desperate a position, on my honour, I cannot imagine. What you told me, though not in so many words, Cæsar had already heard, and he had scarcely said "good morning!" to me when he mentioned what he had heard about you. I said I did not know anything about it, but yet begged him to write you a letter as the best method of inducing you to stay in the country. He is taking me into Spain with him. For if he were not doing so, before going to Rome, I should have hastened to visit you, wherever you were, and should have pressed this upon you personally, and tried with might and main to keep you from going. Pray, my dear Cicero, reflect again and again, and do not utterly ruin yourself and all your family, nor knowingly, and with your eyes open, put yourself into a situation from which you can see no possible retreat. But if, on the one hand, you are shaken by the remarks of the Optimates, or, on the other, are unable to endure the intemperance and offensive behaviour of certain persons, I think you should select some town not affected by the war, while this controversy is being

fought out, which will be settled almost directly. If you do this, you will, in my opinion, have acted wisely, and will not offend Cæsar.

CCCLXXXIII (A X, 5)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CUMÆ, 16 APRIL

ABOUT my plans as a whole I have written to you, I think, before in sufficient detail. About the day of my departure I can state nothing for certain, except this: not before the new moon. Curio's conversation on the second day's interview amounted to much the same, except that he indicated still more candidly that he did not see what was to be the end of the business.

As to your charge to me to control Quintus . . . 'tis a case of asking for Arcadia.¹ However, I will omit nothing. And would that you—but I will not be over troublesome. I at once forwarded the packet to Vestorius, and, indeed, he was always asking for it. Vettienus was more obliging in what he said to you than in what he had written to me. But I cannot wonder enough at the man's carelessness. For Philotimus having told me that he could buy that lodge of Canuleius for 50 sester tia, and could get it for even less, if I asked Vettienus to act, I did ask the latter to obtain a deduction from that sum if he could. He promised to do so. He told me that he had bought it for 30 sester tia, and asked me to let him know to whom I wished it conveyed; saying that the day for payment was the 13th of November. I wrote back somewhat crossly, and yet with a familiar

¹ You ask me to do what is very difficult. This is explained by Herodotus, i. 66, where the Delphic oracle is said to have answered a Spartan envoy who asked for Arcadia:

"Arcady askest thou, truly a great boon, give it I will not."

¹ Ἀρκαδίαν μ' ἀνείλς, μέγα μ' αἰτείς, οὐδὲν δώσω.

II.

B D

jest.¹ For the present, as he is acting handsomely, I refrain from finding any fault with the man, and I have written to tell him that you have given me full information. Pray let me know about your journey, what you are thinking of doing, and when.

16 April

CCCLXXXIV (A X, 8 b)

CAESAR TO CICERO (AT FORMLÆ)

ON THE ROAD TO SPAIN, 16 APRIL

CAESAR *imperator* greets Cicero *imperator*. Although I had come to the conclusion that you were not likely to do anything unadvisedly or imprudently, yet, being made anxious by common report, I thought that I ought to write to you and to appeal to you, in the name of our mutual kindness, not to go anywhere now that fortune has declared in my favour, that you had not thought yourself bound to go even when it was still uncertain. For you will have at once committed a somewhat serious offence against our friendship, and have adopted a course far from beneficial to yourself: since you will make it clear that you have not followed fortune—for all the good luck has notoriously been on our side, all the bad on theirs—nor the merits of the cause, for they are the same now as when you judged it best not to assist at their deliberations: but you will shew that you have condemned some act of mine, and that is the heaviest

¹ As Vettienus got the lodge for £240 instead of £450, it is not easy to see why Cicero was offended. At the end of Letter CCCXCV it appears that one offence was that he addressed the letter to "Cicero proconsul" instead of "imperator." Another, perhaps, was something unceremonious in the style of the letter itself, or unbusinesslike in the arrangement for payment. The lodge purchased was one of those small houses of call (*deversoria*) which rich men purchased along the great high roads, in which to put up for the night, rather than burden their friends who might have villas in the neighbourhood (see vol. i., p. 256). Italy was not without inns, rather celebrated for goodness and cheapness (Polyb. ii. 15), but men of high position seemed to think it undignified to use them.

blow you can inflict on me. In the name of our friendship, I beg you not to do so. Finally, what can be more becoming to a good man, and a peaceable and quiet citizen, than to hold aloof from civil strife? It is a thing some would have been glad to do,¹ but could not on account of the danger. For yourself, when you have satisfied yourself as to the evidence which my life furnishes, and the decision at which my friendship for you has arrived,² you will find nothing at once safer and more honourable than to abstain entirely from active intervention in the fray.

On the march, 16 April.

CCCLXXXV (A X, 6)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CUMÆ, APRIL (BEFORE THE 27TH)

UP to this time the only thing stopping me is the weather. I am not going in for any sharp practice. Let what will happen in Spain, nevertheless my decision stands—*partons!* I have explained all my ideas to you in a previous letter. Therefore this is a short one, as also because I am in haste and more busy than usual. As to young Quintus, “I am doing my best”—you know the rest.³ Your next piece of advice is at once friendly and wise: but everything else will be plain sailing, if I only keep on my guard against him.⁴ It is no easy task: there are many perplexing traits in his character: no simplicity, no straightforwardness. I could wish that you had undertaken the management of the young

¹ He seems to mean himself.

² It is difficult to be certain what Cæsar means by *iudicio amicitia*. I think he refers to his decision to allow Cicero to abstain from the senate and to give him no active countenance. He appeals to his life as shewing that he will keep his word to Cicero, and to this decision to allow of Cicero's neutrality as a proof of his friendliness.

³ Ter. *Adelph.* 414, *Fis sedulo, nihil prætermitto, consuefacio*. But it is not certain that this is the quotation, or whether there is really any quotation.

⁴ The younger Quintus.

man. For his father is too indulgent : whenever I tighten the rein, he slackens it again. If I had been able to act without his father, I should have controlled him : and this you can do. But I excuse you : it is, I say, no light task. I regard it as certain that Pompey is going through Illyricum into Gaul.¹ By what route and whither I am to go now, I shall consider.

CCCLXXXVI (F IV, 1)

TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS RUFUS (AT ROME)

CUMÆ, APRIL (TOWARDS THE END)

My intimate friend Gaius Trebatius has written to me to say that you have inquired of him where I was, and that you regretted that, owing to the state of your health, you had not seen me after my arrival at the city walls, and that at the present time you wished, if I came nearer, to consult with me on what was the duty of us both. Oh that it had been possible, Servius, for us to converse before the ruin—that is the word!—had been completed. We should surely have contributed some assistance to the falling Republic. For I am fully informed, though absent myself, that, foreseeing these disasters long before, you were the supporter of peace both during and after your consulship. I, however, though approving your policy and holding the same opinion myself, was unable to do any good. For I arrived late in the day ; I was isolated ; I was regarded as imperfectly acquainted with the facts : I had suddenly plunged into a scene of mad passion for war. Now, since it seems impossible for us to furnish any support to the Republic, if there is any measure within our power to take in our own particular interests—I don't mean to maintain our old position, but to express our grief in the manner most honourable to ourselves—there is no one in the world with whom I should think it proper to confer in preference to yourself. For you do not forget the

¹ This, of course, turned out to be a false report.

examples of the most illustrious men—whom we ought to resemble—nor the maxims of the greatest philosophers, whom you have always worshipped. And, in fact, I should myself have written to you before to warn you that your going to the senate—or rather to the convention of senators¹—would have no result, had I not been afraid of annoying the man who was urging me to imitate you. Him indeed I gave clearly to understand, when he asked me to attend the senate, that I should say precisely what you said about peace, and about the Spains. You see how the matter stands: the whole world is parcelled out among men in military command, and is ablaze with war: the city, without laws, law courts, justice, or credit, has been abandoned to plunder and fire. Accordingly, nothing occurs to me, I don't say to hope, but scarcely even to venture to wish. If, however, you, in your supreme wisdom, think it of any advantage that we should have a discussion, though I am thinking of going still farther from the city, the very name of which I do not now like to hear mentioned, I will yet come nearer; and I have instructed Trebatius not to decline to bring any message you wished to send me: and I should like you to do so, or to send me any of your own friends that you can trust, so that you may not be obliged to leave the city, or I to approach it. I pay you the same high compliment as I perhaps claim for myself, in feeling sure that whatever we mutually agree upon, will have the approbation of all the world. Farewell.

¹ See *ante*, p. 358. Cicero professes to hold that the meeting could not be called a "senate" in the absence of the consuls, many other magistrates, and a considerable number of the ordinary members. But the prætor Lepidus had the legal right of summoning it, and there was no law demanding the presence of other magistrates.

CCCLXXXVII (A X, 7)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CUMÆ (LATE IN APRIL)

YES, I quite approve of your staying in Apulia and Sipontum, and of your avoiding committing yourself; and I do not think your case is on all fours with mine. Not but that in regard to the constitution the right course is the same for us both—but there is now no question of the constitution. It is a contest of rival kings, in which the more moderate king, and the more virtuous and clean-handed of the two, has been defeated, the one, too, whose defeat involves the necessary destruction of the very name of the Roman people: while, if he *does* conquer, he will use his victory after the manner and precedent of Sulla.¹ Therefore in this quarrel you must not openly profess adherence to either side, and must wait on events. My position, however, is different, because, being under the bond of an obligation, I cannot shew myself ungrateful, and yet do not meditate being at the seat of war, but at Malta or some similar retired place. “Do you do nothing to help the man,” you will say, “to whom you do not wish to be ungrateful?” Nay, I think he would perhaps have been glad if I had done less. But as to this we shall see. Let me only get out of the country, and I have a better opportunity of doing so now that Dolabella is on the Adriatic, Curio in the Sicilian straits. However, I have had a certain revival of hope from the fact that Servius Sulpicius wishes an interview with me. I have sent my freedman Philotimus with a letter to him: if he chooses to play the man, we shall have a notable *tête-à-tête*: otherwise . . . I shall be the same as ever. Curio has been staying with me: his idea is that Cæsar is in low water from having offended the multitude: and he was nervous about going to Sicily, if Pompey should begin naval operations.

¹ That is, he will put to death the members of the popular party. Cicero has before expressed his horror of the violent language he hears is being used by Pompey's *entourage*. See, for instance, pp. 326, 334.

I gave it to young Quintus when he returned ! I perceive that it was a piece of avarice on his part, and a hope of a large bounty. This is a serious evil enough, but the crime which I feared I hope he did not commit.¹ However, I think you are convinced that this vice has not arisen from my indulgence, but from his natural disposition : still I will school and control him. As to the Oppii of Velia, please consult with Philotimus, and arrange as you think proper. I shall look on Epirus as at my service, but I seem destined to quite a different voyage.

CCCLXXXVIII (F IV, 2)

TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS RUFUS (AT ROME)

CUMÆ, 28 APRIL

I RECEIVED your letter on the 28th of April, while at my Cuman villa. As soon as I had read it I perceived that Philotimus, considering that he had, as you say, received verbal instructions from you on every point, had made a great mistake in not having come to me personally, but sending your letter, which I understood to have been the shorter because you had imagined that he would deliver it. However, after I had read your letter, your wife Postumia and our dear Servius called on me. Their opinion was that *you* should come to Cumæ, and they even urged me to write and tell you so. You ask what my advice is : it is of such a nature, that it is easier to adopt it myself than to give it to another. What measure could I venture to urge on a man possessed of your supreme influence and knowledge of affairs ? If we ask what is most right, the answer is plain : if what is expedient, it is doubtful. But if we are the men we really ought to be—holding, that is, the faith that nothing is expedient except what is right and virtuous—there can be no doubt as to what we ought to do. You express your opinion that my case is closely connected with

¹ *I.e.*, denouncing his uncle to Cæsar.

yours. Well, at least we both made the same mistake, though with the very best intentions. For both of us continually advised a peaceful solution; and since nothing was more to *Cæsar's* advantage, we thought that we were obliging him by supporting peace. How grossly mistaken we have been, and to what a pass things have come, you now see. Nor do you only perceive what is actually going on and what has gone on, but also what the course of affairs and the ultimate result will be. Therefore you must either approve the measures now being taken, or be a party to them in spite of disapproving them. The one alternative in my eyes is discreditable, the other is dangerous as well. I can only come, therefore, to one conclusion—that I ought to quit the country. All that I have, I think, to consider in so departing is the method to adopt, and the country to which to go. Surely there never were circumstances of greater distress, or even a question more difficult to settle. For no decision is possible that does not fall foul of some great difficulty. For you, my opinion is—if you will agree with me—that, if you have made up your mind as to what you think you ought to do, in a way which separates your plan from mine, you should save yourself the trouble of the journey here: but if there is anything you wish to impart to me, I shall expect you. Of course, I should like you to come as soon as you can conveniently to yourself, as I perceived was the wish both of *Servius* and *Postumia*. Farewell!

CCCLXXXIX (F v, 19)

TO L. MESCINIUS RUFUS

CUMÆ, APRIL (END)

THOUGH I never doubted your great affection for me, yet I learn it better every day of my life, and I never forget what you once said in a letter, that you would be more zealous in shewing me attention than you had been in the province (though, to my mind, nothing could exceed your loyalty in

the province), in proportion as your judgment could now be more independent. Accordingly, your former letter gave me great pleasure, because it shewed me that my arrival was affectionately looked forward to by you, and that, when things turned out differently from what you had expected, you were greatly rejoiced at the line I took. So, also, this last letter is extremely valuable to me from the expression at once of your judgment and your affection: of your judgment, because I learn that, as all gallant and good men are bound to do, you hold nothing to be expedient except what is right and virtuous; of your affection, because you promise to stand by me, whatever course of policy I shall adopt. Nothing could be more gratifying to me, nor, as I think, more honourable to yourself. My own course has long been decided. I have not written to tell you of it before, not because you were one to be kept in the dark, but because the communication of a policy at such a time seems in a certain sense to be an exhortation to duty, or rather a summons to share in either danger or labour. Seeing, however, that your goodwill, kindness, and affection for me are what they are, I gladly embrace such a heart. But I do so on this condition, for I will not abandon my habitual modesty in asking favours: if you do what you profess, I shall be grateful; if not, I shall pardon you, and consider that you were unable to deny the latter to your fears, the former to me. For it is in sober earnest an extremely difficult case. The right thing to do is clear: as to the expedient thing, though it is obscure, yet, if we are the men we ought to be, that is, worthy of our philosophical studies, we cannot entertain a doubt that the most advantageous course is the course of strictest honour. Wherefore, if you determine to join me, come at once. But if you wish to act with me and to go to the same place, but cannot do so just yet, I will keep you fully informed on every point. Whichever way you decide I shall look upon you as my friend, but as the closest possible friend if you decide on the course which I desire.

CCCXC (A X, 8 a)

M. ANTONIUS TO CICERO (AT CUMÆ)

CAMPANIA (END OF APRIL)

HAD I not been warmly attached to you—much more warmly, indeed, than you suppose—I should not have been alarmed at the rumour which has reached me about you, especially as I thought it was without foundation. But just because I am so exceedingly devoted to you, I cannot conceal the fact that even a report, however groundless, is a serious thing in my eyes. I cannot believe that you are about to cross the sea, considering how highly you value Dolabella and your dear Tullia, and how highly you are valued by me, to whom, by heaven, your rank and reputation are almost dearer than they are to yourself. Nevertheless, I did not think that it would be friendly in me not to be rendered anxious by the talk even of men of low character. And, indeed, I have been the more zealous, because I considered that I had thrust upon me a somewhat difficult part to play, owing to the misunderstanding between us, which was the result of jealousy on my part rather than of any wrong done me by you.¹ For I want to convince you that no one is dearer to me than you are, except my Cæsar, and that my conviction at the same time is that Cæsar gives M. Cicero a very high place among his friends. Wherefore, my dear Cicero, I beg you not to take any compromising step; and not to place any reliance on the man who, to do you a

¹ We have no references in previous letters to any misunderstanding between Antony and Cicero, but in the second Philippic, §§ 2, 48, 49, Cicero says that Antony was an intimate friend of P. Clodius in B.C. 58, that he (Cicero) had interfered to break off his connexion with the younger Curio, and had a controversy with him in regard to a lawsuit with one Sicca, a freedman of Antony's. Again, in B.C. 53, they had both been candidates for the augurship, though Antony retired from the canvass. The *Ζηλοτυπία* may refer either to Curio or the augurship. Antony was now a tribune, but had been left in charge of Italy with the rank of proprætor.

favour, first inflicted an injury upon you ; and, on the other hand, not to fly from one who, even supposing he loses all affection for you—which is impossible—will yet desire your safety and your highest honour. I have taken pains to send my most intimate friend Calpurnius¹ to you, that you may know that your life and honour are great objects with me.

CCCXCI (A X, 8)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CUMÆ, 2 MAY

THE state of affairs itself, as well as your remark and my own observation, make it clear that the time has come to put an end to our correspondence on subjects which it would be dangerous to have intercepted. But as my dear Tullia keeps writing to me begging me to wait and see how things go in Spain, and always adds that this is your opinion also, and since I have gathered this also from your own letter, I do not think it out of place to write and tell you what I think on that point. This advice of yours would be prudent, as it seems to me, only if I intended to shape my course of policy in accordance with the result of the Spanish affair, which is impossible. For it is inevitable either that Cæsar—what I should like best—is driven from Spain, or that the campaign there will be a protracted one, or (as he seems to feel certain) that he gets Spain into his hands. If he is driven out, how can I then join Pompey with any grace or honour, when I should think even Curio himself would desert to him? If, again, the war is protracted, what am I to wait for, and how long? The only alternative is, if we are beaten in Spain, to keep quiet. My view is quite the other way. For I think myself more bound to abandon Cæsar when he is victorious than when he is beaten, and not more when his success is still un-

¹ Perhaps the L. Calpurnius Piso spoken of afterwards as Antony's *legatus* and *familiaris* (10 *Phil.* § 13 ; 12 *Philip.* § 1).

certain, than when he is quite sure of it.¹ For, if Cæsar conquers, I foresee massacre, an attack on private wealth, a recall of exiles, repudiation of debts, promotion to office of the lowest dregs, and a despotism intolerable, I don't say to any Roman, but even to a Persian. Will it be possible for my indignation to remain silent? Will my eyes be able to endure the sight of myself delivering my vote by the side of Gabinius—or, in fact, of his being called on before me? Of your client Sext. Clodius² in attendance? Of C. Ateius's client Plaguleius? And so on with the whole list. But why collect the names of my opponents, when I shall be unable to see in the senate-house without pain my friends whom I have defended, or to associate with them without dishonour.³ Nay, what if I am not even sure that I shall be *allowed* to come? His friends write me word that he is by no means satisfied with my conduct in not having appeared in the senate. Am I, nevertheless, to think about making advances to him with a risk to myself, after refusing to be united to him when it was to my advantage? Besides, observe that the decision of the whole controversy does not depend on Spain, unless you really think that Pompey will throw down his arms if that is lost! On the contrary, his view is entirely that of Themistocles: for he holds that the master of the sea must inevitably be master of the empire. Accordingly, his object has never been to retain Spain for its own sake: the equipment of a fleet has always been his first care. He will take to the sea, therefore, as soon as the season permits, with an enormous fleet, and will approach the shores of Italy: and what then will be our position who remain there doing nothing? It will be impossible for us to be any longer neutral. Shall we resist the fleet then? What could be a greater crime, or even so great? In fact, what could be more ignominious? I did not shrink from opposing Cæsar when I was isolated: shall I do

¹ Reading, with Schütz, *nec dubitantem*, etc., for *et*.

² Sex. Clodius was one of the followers of P. Clodius, and had been condemned under the *lex Pompeia* after the trial of Milo. See 2 *Phil.* § 8.

³ Because, though they were his friends, and had been defended by him, they had been legally condemned, and their recall by Cæsar's bare authority would be looked upon as offensive to a friend of the constitution.

so now with the support of Pompey and the rest of the nobles?¹ If, however, putting the question of duty aside, I must take account of danger : it is, if I do wrong, that there is danger from these last, from *him*, if I do right : nor in such miserable circumstances can any policy be discovered so free from danger, as to make me doubt that I should shun doing disgracefully, when it is dangerous, what I should have shunned doing, even had it been safe. "Not if I had crossed the sea along with Pompey?" That was impossible in any case : you have only to count the days. But all the same—for let me confess the truth (I do not even attempt concealment), supposing it possible—I was mistaken in a point in which, perhaps, I ought not to have been mistaken : I thought that there would be a reconciliation, and in that case I did not want to have Cæsar incensed with me, while he was friends with Pompey.² For I had learnt to see how exactly alike they were. It was from dread of this that I drifted into this waiting policy. But now I have everything to gain by hastening, everything to lose by delay. And, nevertheless, my dear Atticus, there are auguries also which incite me to action with a certain hope, and no doubtful one, auguries not such as our college derives from Attus,³ but those of Plato on tyrants.⁴ For I see clearly that he can by no possibility keep his position much longer without bringing on his own collapse, even though we do not exert ourselves : seeing that at the very heyday of his success, and with the charm of novelty upon him, in six or seven days, he brought upon himself the bitterest hatred even of that needy

¹ The text of this sentence is hopelessly corrupt. But the general sense is, I think, something like what I have given. Cicero's argument is : "The only motive for putting oneself in opposition to Pompey's fleet must be fear of Cæsar. Now I shewed when I was all alone at Formiæ that I would not give in to him : shall I do so now that there are Pompey and the rest to support me?"

² Cicero here lets out his true motives. The plea of time and opportunity he feels to be hollow. His real motive was the uncertainty as to which was the safer course, while he was also no doubt torn by the conviction that the truly loyal side was that of Pompey.

³ Attus Nævius, the famous augur in the time of the Tarquins.

⁴ Referring apparently to Plato's *Republic*, viii. 562 to ix. 580 ; but the inevitable *shortness* of a tyrant's sway is not much brought out in this passage of Plato. It is rather the misery of his own feelings that is dwelt upon.

and reckless city rabble itself, and had to drop so quickly two of his assumptions—of clemency in the case of Metellus,¹ of wealth in the matter of the treasury.² Of what sort, again, will he find his confederates or subordinates, whichever you please to call them, if those are to rule provinces, of whom not one could manage his own estate two months? I need not enumerate all the points, which no one sees more clearly than yourself. Still, put them before your eyes: you will at once understand that this despotism can scarcely last six months. If I turn out to be mistaken in this, I will bear it, as many most illustrious men, eminent in the state, have borne it, unless you should actually think that I prefer the fate of Sardanapalus—to die in his own bed, rather than in an exile, as was the fate of Themistocles: who though he had been—in the words of Thucydides³—"the best judge on the shortest reflexion of the question of the moment, and, in regard to the future, by much the shrewdest at conjecturing what was to happen," yet fell into misfortunes which he would have avoided, if nothing had ever escaped him. Though he was a man, as the same writer says, "who, however obscure the subject, saw the better and the worse course more clearly than anyone," yet did not see how to avoid the jealousy of the Lacedæmonians, nor of his own fellow citizens, nor what promise to make to Artaxerxes. Nor would that night have been so fatal to Africanus,⁴ nor that day of Sulla's triumph so disastrous to Gaius Marius, the craftiest of men, if neither of them had ever been mistaken. However, I encourage myself by that prophetic utterance (of Plato) which I mentioned. I am not deceived about it, nor will it happen otherwise. Fall he must, either by the hands of his opponents or by his own, who, indeed, is his own most

¹ L. Cæcilius Metellus, the tribune (see p. 364). His opposition in the senate on Cæsar's visit to Rome in April seems to have nearly cost him his life.

² By his seizing the treasury. See p. 365.

³ Thucydides, i. 138.

⁴ P. Scipio Africanus the younger, after delivering a speech in defence of the rights of the Italians, was found dead in his bed. Popular rumour attributed his death to assassination at the hands of Carbo, to which belief Cicero often refers. By the *Sullanus dies* Cicero seems to mean Sulla's first march upon Rome, when Marius fled and went into exile.

dangerous enemy. I only hope it may happen while we are still alive. Yet it is time for us to be thinking of that continuous life of the future, not of this brief span of our own.¹ But if anything happens to me before that occurs, it will not have made much difference to me whether I live to see it, or have seen it long before. That being so, I must not allow myself to submit to men, against whom the senate armed me with authority "to see that the Republic took no harm."

All my interests have been confided to you, though they need no recommendation of mine, considering your affection for me. Nor, by Hercules, can I hit upon anything to write: for I am sitting waiting "sailing orders." Yet I never felt more bound to tell you anything than that none of all the delightful services you have done has been more grateful to my feelings, than your most delicate and careful attentions to my Tullia. She has herself been exceedingly charmed with them—as I have been no less. What high qualities she has shewn! How admirably she faces the public disaster! How admirably her domestic difficulties! What spirit she has displayed in the matter of my departure! She loves me dearly, she has the deepest sympathy with my feelings—yet she will have me act rightly and preserve my reputation. But don't let me enlarge too much on this theme, lest I should at this juncture rouse my own self-pity. If you get any surer intelligence about Spain, or anything else, pray write and tell me while I am still in the country; and, perhaps, at the moment of my departure I shall send you some intelligence, the more so that Tullia thinks that you are at present not thinking of leaving Italy. I must put before Antony, as I did before Curio, my wish to reside in Malta, and my determination not to take part in this civil war. I only hope I may find him as complaisant and good-natured to me as I did Curio. He is said to be intending to come to Misenum on the 2nd, that is, to-day: but he has sent me a disagreeable letter in advance, of which I inclose a copy.²

¹ Cicero is thinking, not of a future life—in the Christian sense—but of the eternity of fame: as he says elsewhere that he cared more for what people said of him 600 years hence than what they said now.

² Letter CCCXC.

CCCXCII (A X, 9)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CUMÆ, 3 MAY

THE arrival of Philotimus—why, what a fellow! how insipid! what lies he keeps telling for Pompey!—frightened all my party to death. For myself, I have become hardened. None of my party doubted that Cæsar had curtailed his marches: according to him, he is absolutely flying. None doubted Petreius having effected a junction with Afranius: he brings no tidings of the kind. In short, they have also been convinced of this—that Pompey, at the head of a large force, had marched into Germany by way of Illyricum; for that was announced on good authority. Well, then, I must make for Malta, I think, until we get fresh news from Spain. This, indeed, I almost think from Cæsar's own letter that I may do with his approval: for he says that I cannot take a more honourable or safer course than to abstain from the combat altogether. You will say, "What has become, then, of that resolution of yours, which you described in your last?" It is here, and still unchanged. But would that I had to decide for my own person only! The tears of my family at times weaken my resolution, who beseech me to wait for the result in Spain. Cælius's letter, indeed, which was expressed in moving terms, containing an identical appeal—that I would not so rashly abandon my property, my only son, and all my family—our boys read with floods of tears. Though my own son is, in fact, the braver of the two, and for that very reason affects me more violently. His only anxiety is for my dignity. To Malta, then, and thence wherever it shall seem good! However, even now pray write something, and especially if there is any news from Afranius. On my part, if I have any conversation with Antony, I will write and tell you the result. Yet I will be cautious as to trusting him, as you warn me. For the policy of entire concealment is difficult, and dangerous into the bargain. I intend to wait for Ser-

vius Sulpicius till the 15th; both Postumia and his son. Servius urge me to do so. I am glad your quartan ague is better. I send you also a copy of Cælius's letter.¹

CCCXCIII (F II, 16)

TO M. CÆLIUS RUFUS (IN GAUL)

CUMÆ (MAY)

YOUR letter¹ would have given me great pain, had it not been that by this time reason itself has dispelled all feelings of annoyance, and had not my mind, from long despair of public safety, become callous to any new sorrow. Nevertheless, I do not know how it happened that you conceived from my former letter the suspicion which you mention in yours. For what did it contain beyond a lamentation over the state of the times, which do not cause me greater anxiety than they do you? For I know the keenness of your intellect too well to suppose that you do not see what I see myself. What surprises me is that, knowing me as thoroughly as you ought to do, you could be induced to think, that I was either so shortsighted as to abandon a fortune in the ascendant for one on the wane and all but entirely sunk; or so inconsistent as to throw away the favour already gained of a man at the height of prosperity, and so be untrue to myself, and—a thing which I have from the beginning and ever since avoided—take part in a civil war. What, then, do you mean by my “lamentable” design? Is it that of retiring, perhaps, to some secluded spot? For you know how it not

¹ See Letter CCCLXXXII, p. 367. This letter to Cælius is far more discreditable to Cicero than the most pitiful of his letters from exile. There is hardly a word in it which is not false, or a *suggestio falsi*. It was meant to be shewn to Cæsar, and is a sad piece of trimming. It is astonishing that he should have sent Atticus a copy of it, when he remembered what he had written continually to him. The idea of Malta, if really entertained, was only a passing one. His real hesitation was as to going to Pompey.

only turns my stomach—as it used at one time to turn yours also—but sickens my very eyes to see the insolent conduct of mere upstarts. I have the additional *gêne* of the procession of lictors, and the title of *imperator*, by which I am addressed. If I had been without that burden, I should have been content with any retreat, however humble, in Italy. But these laurelled *fascies* of mine not only attract the eyes, but now also provoke the remarks of the malevolent. And though that is so, I yet never thought of leaving the country without the approbation of your party. But you know my small estates: I am obliged to stay on them, not to be troublesome to my friends. Now the fact of my finding it pleasantest to reside in my marine villa causes some to suspect me of an intention to embark on a voyage: and, after all, perhaps I should not have been unwilling to do so, had I been able to reach peace: for how could I consistently sail to war: especially against a man who, I hope, has forgiven me, on the side of a man who by this time cannot possibly forgive me?

In the next place, you might without any difficulty have understood my feeling at the time of your visit to me in my Cuman villa. For I did not conceal from you what Titus Ampius had said:¹ you saw how I shrank from leaving the city after hearing it. Did I not assure you that I would endure anything rather than quit Italy to take part in a civil war? What, then, has occurred to make me change my resolve? Has not everything been rather in favour of my abiding by my opinion? Pray believe me in this—and I am sure you do think so—that among these miseries I seek for nothing but that people should at length understand that I have preferred peace to everything: that, when that was given up in despair, my first object was to avoid actual civil war. Of this consistent conduct I think I shall never have cause to repent. I remember, for instance, that our friend Q. Hortensius used to plume himself on this particular thing, that he had never taken any part in a civil war. In this matter my credit will be more brilliant, because it was attributed to want of spirit in his case: in mine I do not think that this idea can possibly be entertained. Nor am I terrified by the considera-

¹ Who advocated uncompromising resistance to Cæsar.

tions which you put before me, with the most complete fidelity and affection, with the view of alarming me. For there is no sort of violence that does not seem to be hanging over the heads of all in this world-wide convulsion; and this, indeed, I would with the greatest pleasure have averted from the Republic at the cost of my private and domestic losses, even those against which you bid me be on my guard. To my son, whom I rejoice to see enjoying your affection, I shall leave, if the Republic survives in any shape, a sufficiently noble inheritance in the memory of my name: but if it entirely disappears, nothing will happen to him apart from the rest of the citizens. You ask me to have some regard to my son-in-law—a most excellent young man, and very dear to me: can you doubt, when you know how much I regard both him, and of course my dear Tullia, that this subject gives me the keenest anxiety? The more so, that in the universal disaster I yet used to flatter myself with this little grain of hope, that my, or rather our, Dolabella would be freed from those embarrassments which he had brought upon himself by his own liberality. Pray ask him how he got through the settling days, while he was in the city. How disagreeable they were to him, and how derogatory to myself as his father-in-law! Accordingly, I am neither waiting for the result of the Spanish campaign, as to which I am fully convinced that the truth is as you say, nor am I meditating any astute policy. If there is ever to be a state, there will be doubtless a place for me: but if there is not, you will yourself, as I think, make for the same lonely retreats in which you will hear that I have taken up my abode. But perhaps I am talking wildly, and all these troubles will end better. For I remember the expressions of despair among those who were old men when I was a youth: perhaps I am now imitating them, and indulging in the usual weakness of my time of life. I wish it may be so. But nevertheless!—I suppose you have heard that a purple-bordered toga is being woven for Oppius.¹ For our friend Curtius thinks of a double-dyed one: but the hand that should dye it keeps him waiting.² I put in this seasoning of joke to shew you that, in

¹ That is, Oppius, a partisan of Cæsar's, and generally spoken of in connexion with Balbus, is to have some curule office by Cæsar's favour.

² M. Curtius Postumus, who had also joined Cæsar, was to have an

spite of my indignation, I am still in the habit of laughing.¹ As to what you say in your letter about Dolabella, I advise you to look to it as closely as if your own interests were at stake. My last remark shall be this: I shall do nothing wild or inconsiderate. However, I beg you, in whatever country I may be, to protect me and my children, as our friendship and your honour demand.

CCCXCIV (A X, 10)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CUMÆ, 3 MAY

How blind of me not to have seen this before! I send you Antony's letter. After I had written again and again to say that I was not entertaining any plans against Cæsar, that I remembered my son-in-law, remembered our friendship, that, if I had been otherwise minded, I might have been with Pompey, but that, as I had to my disgust to move about accompanied by lictors, I wished to be away from Italy, but had not made up my mind even to that—see what an admonitory tone² he adopts in reply!

"Your decision is perfectly right. For the man who wishes to be neutral remains in the country: he who leaves it appears to express a judgment on one side or the other. But it is not my duty to determine whether a particular person

augurship (see p. 396). The augurs wore a toga dyed in some special way with two colours, which in Letter XXXV he calls *δύβαρον* (vol. i., p. 98). By *infector*, "dyer," Cicero seems to mean Cæsar, who was to give him the promotion.

¹ The jest consists in the jocose description of Oppius and Curtius—Oppius as ordering a new toga, and Curtius as sending his toga to be dyed, and being kept waiting by the dyer (*i.e.*, Cæsar). He seasons the bitter herbs of his letter with a dressing of jest. He uses a word (*adpersi*) specially applied to "dressing" salads or vegetables with oil or vinegar or the like. Cp. *pro Cluent.* 71, *Conditor totius negotiis Guttam aspergit huic Bulbo.*

² *παραιρετικῶς*. Antony, as proprætor in charge of Italy, was for the moment able to make things disagreeable for Cicero if he chose.

has the right to go or not. Cæsar has assigned me my rôle, which is that I should not allow anyone at all to quit Italy. Therefore it matters little that I approve your idea in the present instance, since I have, nevertheless, no power to grant you any exemption. My opinion is that you should communicate with Cæsar direct and ask his leave. I feel no doubt that you will obtain it, especially as you promise that you will take our friendship into consideration."

There's a Laconic despatch for you!¹ In any case I will wait for the man himself. He is to arrive on the 3rd, that is, to-day. To-morrow, therefore, he will perhaps come to see me. I will test him: I will listen to what he has to say: I will declare loudly that I am in no hurry, that I will communicate with Cæsar. I will lie *perdu* somewhere with the smallest number of attendants possible: at any rate, let these men be ever so reluctant to allow it, from this country I *will* wing my way, and oh that it might be to Curio!² Don't mistake what I say. Something worthy of me shall be effected.

This is a new and heavy anxiety: I am much distressed by your strangury. Take medical advice, I beseech you, whilst it is in an early stage. I am delighted with your letter about the Massilians.³ I beg you to let me know if you get any news. I should have liked to have Ocella with me, if I could manage it without any concealment; and I had extracted from Curio a promise that I should. Here I am waiting for Servius Sulpicius, for I am requested to do so by his wife and son, and I think it is necessary to see him. Antony, for his part, is carrying about Cytheris with him with his sedan open, as a second wife.⁴ There are, besides, seven sedans in his train, containing friends female or male.

¹ σκυράλην λακωνικήν, a staff round which the writing material was rolled, so arranged that it could not be read when unrolled.

² To Sicily, on his way to Malta.

³ Who had closed their gates to Cæsar, and were now being besieged by Cæsar's officers, Dec. Brutus and Trebonius.

⁴ Antony was married to his cousin Antonia, whom he afterwards divorced. He did not marry Fulvia—who was at this time the wife of Curio—for at least four years afterwards. Cytheris was an actress, and is said by Servius (on Virgil, *Eclog.* x.) to have been the *Lycoris* of the poet Gallus. For Antony's intrigue with her see 2 *Phil.* §§ 58, 77, where this description is repeated.

See in what disgraceful circumstances we are being done to death: and doubt, if you can, that if Cæsar returns victorious, he will use the sword. For my part, I will withdraw myself in a cock-boat, if I can't get a ship, from their parricidal proceedings. But I shall know more when I have had my interview with him. Our young nephew I cannot help loving, but I see clearly that he does not love me. I never saw a case of such want of principle, of such aversion to his own relations, and of such brooding over mysterious designs. What an overpowering number of anxieties! But it will be my care, as it is now, to correct him. His natural abilities are admirable: it is his character that wants attention.

CCCXCV (A X, II)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CUMÆ, 4 MAY

AFTER I had sealed my previous packet, I changed my mind about intrusting it to the man to whom I had intended doing so, because he was a stranger. Accordingly, it was not despatched the same day. Meanwhile Philotimus arrived and delivered me a letter from you. What you say in it about my brother does not, indeed, shew as much firmness on his part as one could wish, yet it does not imply any *arrière pensée*, any treachery, or any obstinate aversion from good, nothing that you cannot turn in any direction you please in one conversation. In short, he holds all his family in great affection—even those with whom he is too often angry—me he loves more dearly than himself. His having written about his boy in one tone to you, and in another to the boy's mother, I see no reason to blame. I am vexed at what you say about the journey and your sister, and the more so that the state of my affairs is such that I can apply no remedy to those things. For I certainly would have done so. But you see my unfortunate position and the desperate state of my affairs. His financial

position is not of such a nature—for I hear frequently from him personally—as to prevent his being eager to repay you, and being really anxious on that point. But if such a man as Q. Axius, because I am thus in exile, does not pay me thirteen sestertia, which I lent his son, and pleads the hardness of the times, if Lepta and everybody else do the same, it is wont to make me feel some surprise when he tells me that he is being pressed for an insignificant sum of twenty sestertia. For you, of course, see what his difficulties are. However, he is directing the money to be paid in any case to your order. Do you think him slow or close in business of that kind? No one is less so. Enough about my brother. As for his son: his father has always spoilt him, but his indulgence is not responsible for his being untruthful, or grasping, or wanting in affection for his family, though it perhaps does make him headstrong and self-willed, as well as aggressive. Accordingly, these latter also are traits in his character, which are the results of over-indulgence, but they are pardonable—we must admit—considering what young men are nowadays. Those traits, however, which to me, at least, who love him, are more distressing than the very evils surrounding us, do not arise from excessive compliance on my part: for they have roots of their own, which, however, I would assuredly have torn up, had I been allowed to do so. But my circumstances are such that I must put up with anything. My own son I keep under control without difficulty. He is the most tractable boy possible; but my remorseful pity for him makes me less determined in politics, and the more he desires me to be staunch, the more I fear turning out a cruel father to him.

However, Antony arrived yesterday in the evening. Presently perhaps he will call on me, or, maybe, will not take even that trouble, since he has written to say what it is his pleasure should be done. But you shall know the result at once. Secrecy is *my* only course now. What can I do about the boys? Shall I trust them to a small vessel? What sort of courage do you think I shall have in the voyage? Why, I remember while sailing in that open Rhodian vessel in the summer how anxious I was: what do you think will be the case in a small despatch boat in the dangerous season of the year? Misery on every

side! Trebatius is with me, a right good man and good citizen. What frightful news he brings me, good heavens! Is even Balbus thinking, then, of an *entrée* into the senate? But I will give him a letter himself for you to-morrow. Yes, I believe Vettienus is, as you say, friendly to me. I answered him with rather a peppery jest, because he wrote to me somewhat abruptly about providing for payment of the money. Pray smooth him down, if he took it less good-temperedly than one could wish. I addressed him as *monetalis*,¹ because he addressed me as *proconsul*. But as he is a good fellow and attached to me, let me keep my affection for him too. Farewell.

CCCXCVI (A X, 12)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CUMÆ, 5 MAY

WHAT is to become of me? Who is there, I don't say more unfortunate, but in a more degraded position? Antony says that he has received express orders about me, and, nevertheless, he has as yet not been to see me, but told Trebatius this fact. What am I to do now? Nothing succeeds with me, and the plans which I form with the greatest care are just those which fail in the most shocking manner. Why, I thought when I had got Curio's consent, that I had succeeded entirely. He had written about me to Hortensius. Reginus was wholly in my interests.² I

¹ Cicero, in jest, gives him the title of *triumvir monetalis*, "a commissioner of the mint," as though he "coined money" out of his debtors. Or perhaps he was really in that office, the title of which it was not usual to append to letters. Cicero was apparently annoyed at not being addressed as *imperator*, as was usual for a man who had received that title from his soldiers, while still retaining his provincial *imperium*. This Cæsar is always careful to add. Or it may have been unusual, and therefore rather discourteous, to use such titles at all in a business letter. Is there, perhaps, a pun on *monet*, as the dunning letter "reminded" Cicero of his obligations? For the transaction see Letter CCCLXXXIII.

² Reginus had command of ships in the Tuscan Sea, and Cicero hoped would allow of his voyage to Sicily, where Curio was.

never imagined that *Antony* would have anything to do with the western sea. Which way am I to turn now? I am watched on every side. But enough of tears! Well, then, I must steal away and creep stealthily into some merchant vessel: I must not expose myself to the suspicion of having connived at my being prevented from going. I must make for Sicily. If I once get there, I shall then have a greater step in my power. If things would only go as they should in Spain! However, I only hope the news about Sicily may prove true: but as yet we have had no luck. The Sicilians are said to have rallied round Cato, to have begged him to hold out, making all manner of promises. Affected by this, he is said to have begun holding a levy.¹ I don't believe it, however distinguished the authority! I am aware that this province was at least capable of being held. However, we shall presently have news from Spain. We have C. Marcellus here, who is entertaining the same thoughts as myself, either sincerely, or making a good pretence of doing so. I have not, however, seen him personally, but have been told this by one of his most intimate friends. Pray send me any news you have: if I take any active step, I will at once let you know. I will treat young Quintus with more strictness. Would that I could do any good! However, pray some time or other tear up the letters in which I have written about him in a tone of severity, for fear of anything getting out at any time. I will do the same with yours.

I am still waiting for Servius,² nor do I hear anything satisfactory from him. You shall know whatever does occur. Without doubt I must confess to having made a mistake. For the first time? Or on one subject? Nay, the more deeply I have reflected on a thing, the more unwisely has its execution invariably been. But

"The past is past: though grieved, I'll let it be."³

Let us only take care not to come to grief in the future.

¹ Cato as a matter of fact abandoned Sicily to Curio without a blow. A specimen of the idle rumours afloat at such a time.

² Servius Sulpicius (see Letter CCCLXXXVIII). Tyrrell makes this a separate letter. It may be so. But it is possible also that he is answering a letter from Atticus which arrived while he was writing.

³ ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προῖτυχαί ἴασομεν, ἀχθόμενοι περ (Hom. *Il.* xvii. 112).

Well, you bid me make provision for my journey. What am I to provide? The possible accidents cover so wide a field, that, if I shrink from them, I must remain stationary with dishonour and sorrow; if I pay no heed to them, there is danger of my falling into the hands of unprincipled men. Only see in what a miserable position I am! At times I think that I should absolutely desire to receive some injury, however mortifying, from the Cæsarians, to convince people that I have become an object of hatred to the tyrant. But if the voyage, on which I set my hopes, had been open to me, I would have certainly effected something, as you wish and advise, to justify my delay. But the closeness of the watch set upon me is surprising, and even Curio himself is an object of suspicion. So the two alternatives are to take the high hand, or to act secretly. If the former, I must have favourable weather. The latter means concealment from those men:¹ and if any *contretemps* occurs in doing that, you must see in what an undignified position I shall be. I am at the mercy of circumstances, and must not shrink from a somewhat bold course. I often think of Cælius,² and, if ever I have the like opportunity, I will not let it slip. I hope Spain is safe. The action of the Massilians is at once glorious in itself, and a proof to me that things are going well in Spain. They would not have been so bold, if it had been otherwise: and they would be sure to know, for they are close at hand as well as careful.³ Again, I am glad of your remark as to the popular dislike expressed in the theatre. Even these legions, which he took over in

¹ The text here is very corrupt. The translation is only conjectural. I think the words must somehow refer to his voyage, not to his general policy. See p. 398.

² It is quite uncertain to whom this refers. It is suggested that it has reference to one of the three leaders of armies against Sulla mentioned by Plutarch (*Pomp.* vii.); but most texts there have Clælius (Κλαύδιος). Cicero recurs again several times in other letters of this period to him, and he must, therefore, whoever he was, have shewn some intention of resisting usurpation in arms. We shall, however, find Cicero declining to avail himself of armed assistance offered him at Pompeii.

³ Marseilles received the senatorial governor of Gallia, Ahenobarbus, and closed its gates to Cæsar (see p. 389). Cicero seems not to know the facts accurately as yet, but to imagine that the prolonged resistance of Marseilles was in consequence of some failure of Cæsar's in Spain.

Italy, I can see are very much disaffected to him. However, he has no worse enemy than himself. I quite agree with your dread that he may run amuck. If he once feels desperate, he certainly will do so. All the more reason for effecting something in the spirit (and, I hope, with better fortune) of Cælius. But one thing at a time: whatever it may be, you shall at once know all about it. I will furnish young Quintus with supplies, as you request, and will undertake the Arcadian task, or the whole Peloponnesus, if you like.¹ Yes: he has ability, if he had but character.² . . . And if he hasn't any as yet, he may acquire it, or virtue is not teachable,³ which I cannot be persuaded to believe.

CCCXCVII (A X, 13)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CUMÆ, 7 MAY

YOUR letter was very gratifying to my Tullia, and, by Hercules, to me also. A letter from you always brings a ray of hope. Pray write, therefore, and if you can suggest anything hopeful, don't omit to do so. No, don't be afraid of Antony's lions.⁴ He is a charming fellow! Just listen to a statesman's conduct of affairs! He sent round a letter summoning ten leading men and the *quattuorviri* from the municipal towns. They came to his villa in the morning. In the first place, he remained asleep till nine

¹ Explained by Letter CCCLXXXIII, p. 369, where Cicero says that Atticus's request to him to manage young Quintus was as unreasonable as the Spartan's asking for Arcadia.

² Some Greek letters here are not intelligible.

³ ἀρετή *non est διδακτόν*. See the discussion in Plato's *Protagoras*.

⁴ The form of the sentence shews that this is an answer to some remark of Atticus, who had heard the common gossip of Antony's having a chariot drawn by lions. It is placed at a later date by Plutarch (*Ant.* ix.), but this passage seems to shew that the story belongs to his tribuneship, when he had proprætorian powers in Italy from Cæsar. Pliny (*N. H.* viii. 55), however, assigns it to the period after the battle of Pharsalia.

o'clock. Then on the announcement that the men had arrived from Naples and Cumæ—for Cæsar is angry with these towns—he ordered them to come again next day; he wanted to take a bath and to cure a looseness of the bowels.¹ This was yesterday. To-day, however, he purposes crossing to Ænaria. He intends promising the exiles there that they shall be recalled.

But enough of that. To return to ourselves: I have received a letter from Q. Axius. Thanks, about Tiro. Vettienus is a good fellow. I have repaid Vestorius. Servius is said to have stopped at Minturnæ on the 6th of May, to-day he is to stop with C. Marcellus in his villa at Liternum. Early to-morrow, therefore, he will see me and will give me a theme for a letter to you. For at the present moment I can't think of anything to write to you about. One thing does surprise me, that Antony has not sent me even a message, especially as he has paid a great deal of attention to me. No doubt he is charged with some still sterner order as to me. He doesn't wish to say "No" to me face to face. I never meant to ask him the favour, nor, if he had granted it, should I have trusted his word. However, I will think out some plan. Please tell me any news from the Spains: for by this time it will be possible for some to be heard: and everybody's idea is that, if all is well there, there will be no more trouble. I, however, don't regard our cause as won if we retain them, nor utterly desperate if we lose them. Silius and Ocella and the rest, I suppose, are detained. I observe that you also are hindered by Curtius,² though, as I think, you have a passport.³

¹ Cicero remarks on Antony's rudeness to the people of the country towns again in B.C. 44 (2 *Phil.* §§ 105, 106). The *quattuorviri* were the yearly elected magistrates of a *municipium*.

² Apparently M. Curtius Postumus, whom we heard of before as a Cæsarian, and expecting priestly office (p. 388). He is trying (by persuasion only) to prevent Atticus from leaving Rome. Tyrrell, however, supposes it to be some unknown debtor of Atticus, whose non-payment keeps Atticus in Rome. But Atticus was much too rich a man to be detained by one unpaid debt.

³ Some unintelligible Greek letters (αυραονον) have been emended in several (unsatisfactory) ways. The sense required is shewn from Letter CCCCH (end). Cicero imagines that Atticus has obtained a special permit or *diploma* to leave Italy. He may well have done so, as a man of business, known not to take part in politics.

CCCXCVIII (A X, 14)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CUMÆ, 8 MAY

WHAT a miserable state of existence! To be so long in fear is a greater evil than the very thing which is feared. Servius having arrived, as I told you before, on the 15th of May came to see me next day. Not to keep you in suspense, we arrived at no conclusion as to our policy. I never saw anybody so completely beside himself with fear; and yet, by Hercules, he feared nothing that was not a legitimate object of fear: "Pompey was angry with him, Cæsar no friend to him: the victory of either one or the other was alarming, both because of the cruel nature of the one, the unscrupulousness of the other, and also because of the financial embarrassment of both, which could be relieved from no source except that of the property of private persons." And these remarks were accompanied with such floods of tears, that I wondered they had not run dry from such protracted misery. For my part, even the inflammation of the eyes, which prevents my writing to you with my own hand, is not accompanied with a single tear, but is very often troublesome from keeping me awake. Wherefore any consolations you can think of collect and write, not from philosophy and books—for of that I have a stock at home, though somehow or other the medicine is less potent than the disease: rather search for such news as that about Spain or Marseilles. Servius, indeed, brings a very satisfactory report about them, and also tells me that there is good authority for the story of the two legions. That is the sort of news, if you have any, and more like it. And, indeed, something must be heard before many days are over.

But I return to Servius. We in the end adjourned our conversation to the next day: but he is slow about leaving Italy. "He would much rather die in his own bed, whatever is to happen." He feels a painful hesitation as to his

son's service at Brundisium.¹ There was one thing that he declared with the utmost determination: if the condemned men were restored, he would go into exile. To this I replied that "that would certainly take place; and what was already being done was no less offensive," and I mentioned a number of instances. However, these arguments did not increase his resolution, only his terror: so that I think he is rather to be kept in the dark about my plan, than invited to adopt the same. So there is not much to be got from him. In obedience to your hint I will turn my thoughts to Cælius.

CCCXCIX (A X, 15)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CUMÆ, 12 MAY

WHILST Servius was still with me, Cephalio arrived with your letter of the 10th, which inspired me with a strong hope of a change for the better in regard to the eight cohorts; for those, too, which are stationed in these parts are said to be wavering. On the same day Funisulanus brought me a letter from you, in which the same news was repeated still more positively. I gave him full satisfaction as to his own business, ascribing the full credit to you. Up to this time I have had reason to be discontented with him, for he owes me a large sum of money and is not considered to be well off. Now he says he will pay me: that a man to whom he had lent money was slow in paying; that, if you have in your hands what his debtor has paid, you are to give it to letter-carriers for me. The amount you will learn from Philotimus's man Eros. But let us return to more important matters. The Cælian plan, which is your idea, is coming to fruition. Accordingly, I am distracted as to whether to wait for a favourable wind. What is wanted is a standard: men will flock to it. I quite agree with your advice to set

¹ See p. 356.

out openly, and so I think I shall start. Meanwhile, however, I am awaiting a letter from you. Servius's advice doesn't ease matters at all. Every kind of objection is obtruded in every opinion he utters. I never knew anyone more timid except Gaius Marcellus,¹ who is sorry that he was ever consul. What a mean fellow! why, he is even said to have encouraged Antony to prevent my departure, in order, I suppose, to stay himself with greater decency. Antony, however, started for Capua on the 10th. He sent me a message to say that he had been deterred by a feeling of shame from calling on me, because he thought that I was angry with him. So I shall go, and in the way, too, which you think right, unless some hope shall have been meanwhile presented to me of undertaking some still more important part.² But that will scarcely be the case so soon. Alienus the prætor, however, thinks that some one of his colleagues would do it, if I don't. Anyone you please, so long as it is some one.

In regard to your sister, I commend you. As to the young Quintus, I am doing all I can. I hope things are better. As to my brother Quintus, let me tell you that he is in considerable anxiety about raising money to pay his debt, but as yet has squeezed nothing out of L. Egnatius. Axius is modest about the twelve sestertia! For he repeatedly put in his letter a request that I would pay Gallius whatever he wanted. Could I have done otherwise, if he had not mentioned it? And, in fact, I often promised: but he wanted that round sum promptly. They should have rather come to my assistance at this time of difficulty, heaven confound them! However, more of this another time. I am very glad that you, and Pilia too, are relieved of your quartan ague. Whilst bread and other stores are being got on board, I intend to make an excursion to my Pompeian villa. Please thank Vettienus for his kindness. If you can find anyone to bring it, send me a letter before I leave the country.

¹ C. Claudius Marcellus, the consul of B.C. 50, not the C. Claudius Marcellus, consul B.C. 49. The latter was already with Pompey.

² He seems to mean, being deputed to Cæsar or Pompey to endeavour to make peace.

CCCC (A X, 16)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CUMÆ, 14 MAY

I HAD just despatched a letter to you on a variety of subjects, when Dionysius arrived at my house very early in the morning. I would not only have shewn myself placable to him, but would have pardoned him altogether, had he arrived in the frame of mind described by you. For in your letter received at Arpinum you said that he was coming and was prepared to do whatever I wished. For my part, I wished, or rather desired, that he should stay with me: and it was because, on his coming to my Formian villa, he had refused point blank to do so, that I used to write to you somewhat sharply about him. Well, he said very little, but the upshot of his remarks was that I must excuse him, that his private affairs prevented his going with me. I answered shortly: I felt much pained: I quite understood that my position roused his contempt. You will perhaps be surprised, but I assure you that I feel this to be among the heaviest blows which this crisis has inflicted upon me. I hope he may be loyal to you: that is equivalent to wishing you to remain prosperous: he will be so, just as long as you are.

I hope my design will be free of all risk: for, on the one hand, I have kept it dark; and, on the other, I shall not, I think, be very closely watched. May I only have a voyage such as I wish! For all the rest—as far, that is, as they can be provided for by prudence—measures shall be taken. Pray, as long as I am in the country, write and tell me not only anything you know or have heard, but also what you foresee will happen. Cato, who might have held Sicily without any trouble—and, if he had held it, all loyalists would have joined him—sailed from Syracuse on the 23rd of April, as Curio has written to tell me. I only hope, as the phrase is, that Cotta may hold Sardinia; for there is a rumour going about. Oh, if that were to be so, what a stigma on Cato! In order to allay suspicion of my leaving the country, or of what I

am thinking of doing. I started for my Pompeian villa on the 12th of May, with a view of staying there, while the necessary preparations for my voyage were being made. On my arrival at my villa people came to see me: "The centurions of the three cohorts stationed at Pompeii"—this is what our friend Ninnius¹ reported to me—"wished to visit me the next day: they were desirous of putting themselves and the town in my hands." I, however, I can tell you, was off from my villa next morning before daybreak, to prevent them having any opportunity of seeing me at all. For what was the good of three cohorts? Or even if there were more, what equipment had they? I thought, indeed, of those exploits of Cælius,² which I found mentioned in your letter received as soon as I arrived at my Cuman villa, which I did on the same day: yet at the same time it *might* have been a trap to catch me.³ I therefore removed all suspicion. But while I was on my return journey, Hortensius had arrived and had turned out of his road to call on Terentia, and used very courteous expressions about me. However, I believe I shall see him; for he has sent a servant to tell me that he is coming to my house. This is better behaviour than that of my fellow augur Antony, among whose lictors an actress is riding in a sedan. As you are free of your quartan ague, and have not only got rid of your new disease, but also of your cold, be sure you present yourself before me in Greece full of vigour, and meanwhile let me have something by way of a letter.

CCCCI (A X, 17)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CUMÆ, 16 MAY

ON the 14th Hortensius came to call on me after I had written my letter. I only wish the rest of his conduct had

¹ L. Ninnius Quadratus, tribune in B.C. 57 and a supporter of Cicero.

² See pp. 394, 398.

³ A ruse of some of his enemies to make him commit himself against Cæsar, and so compel Cæsar to treat him with severity.

been the same. You could hardly conceive such *épanouissement*! I mean, I can tell you, to make use of it.¹ Then came Serapion with your letter, before opening which I remarked to him that you had written to me about him before, as you had done. Then, after opening the letter, I told him the rest of your compliment to the last syllable: and, by Hercules, I esteem him to be a good, learned, and honest man. And, what is more, I think of using his ship and taking him with me on my voyage. The inflammation in my eyes frequently recurs, not, indeed, to a very painful extent, but enough to prevent my writing. I am glad that your health is re-established, both from your old complaint and your more recent troubles. I could wish I had Ocella with me. For I think the weather here is going to be slightly calmer. At present the equinox is delaying us, which has been very stormy. After that, if there is a brisk wind,² I can only hope that Hortensius may remain in the same mind: since up to this time nothing could exceed his courtesy. You wonder at what I said about a "passport," as though I had insinuated some grave charge or other against you. For you say you "can't make out how it ever came into my mind." Well, since you had mentioned in your letter that you were thinking of leaving the country, and since I had been told that no one could do so without one, I thought, of course, that you had one, and also because you had taken out a passport for the boys. That was the ground of my belief, and, nevertheless, I wish you would write and tell me what you *are* thinking of doing, and above all what news is now stirring.

16 May.

¹ Hortensius, son of the great orator, was in command of the *mare inferum* in Cæsar's interest. He might, therefore, if he chose to be disagreeable, prevent Cicero's voyage. His wild conduct and character were described in Letter CCLXIII, which accounts for Cicero's relief at finding him a little more decent in conduct than Antony, as referred to in the last letter.

² *Si ἀνπαῖς ἐρίτ.* The Greek word is used by Homer as an epithet for a wind (*ἀνπαῖς... ἄνῃμ*). Some translate: "if there is fair weather." The mention of the equinox at this date shews how far the calendar was wrong.

CCCCII (A X, 18)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CUMÆ, 19 MAY

MY Tullia was confined on the 19th of May—a boy, a seven months' child. I have reason to be thankful that she had a good delivery. The child itself is a poor little weakling. An astonishingly dead calm has as yet kept me from starting, and has been a greater impediment than the watch kept upon me. For all that talk of Hortensius was mere persiflage. The truth will turn out to be this: that most dissolute of men has been corrupted by his freedman Salvius.¹ Accordingly, henceforth I shall not write and tell you what I am going to do, but only what I have done. For all the eavesdroppers of Corycus² seem to be listening to what I say. Do you, however, I beg, continue to tell me any news there are of Spain, or anything else; but don't expect a letter from me, except when I have arrived at my wished-for destination, or in case I can send anything during my voyage. Even this I write with fear and trembling: so slowly and heavily does everything drag on. The foundation was badly laid, the rest follows suit. I am now making for Formiæ: perhaps the Furies will follow me there too.³ However, to judge from Balbus's conversation with you, my idea of Malta does not find favour. Can you doubt, therefore, that he regards me as an enemy? I have, to be sure, written to Balbus telling him that you had mentioned to me in a letter both his kindly feeling and his suspicion. I thanked him. On the second point I cleared myself with him. Did you

¹ The text of these sentences is doubtful.

² *Κωρυκαῖοι* became a proverbial term for spies or eavesdroppers, says Stephanos of Byzantium, from the piratic folk of Corycus in Ionia, who listened for the arrival of merchant vessels, in order to plunder them: or, as others explain, because they spied out the merchant vessels and gave information to the pirates.

³ He may allude to the entrance to the infernal regions near Lake Avernus, not far from Cumæ. He more than once alludes to the Furies in connexion with civil strife, e.g., *pro Sulla*, § 76.

ever know anyone more unlucky? I won't say more, lest I should make you suffer too. I am overpowered with the thought that the time has come when I no longer have the power of acting either with courage or with prudence.

CCCCIII (F XIV, 7)

TO TERENTIA (AT CUMÆ)

FORMLÆ, 7 JUNE

ALL those uneasy feelings and melancholy thoughts, by which I kept you in such extreme distress, which makes me more uneasy than anything—as well as Tulliola, who is dearer to me than life itself—I have got rid of and ejected. The reason of it all I discovered the day after I parted from you. I threw up sheer bile during the night: I was at once so much relieved, that I really think some god worked the cure. Pray make full and pious acknowledgment to the god (Apollo or Æsculapius), according to your wont. I hope I have a very good ship. I write this at the moment of embarkation. Presently I will compose a large number of letters to our friends, to whose protection I will commend you and our dear Tulliola with the greatest earnestness. I would have added exhortations to you with a view to raising your courage, had I not known that you were more courageous than any man. And, after all, I hope affairs are of such a nature, that I may venture to expect you to be as comfortable as possible there, and myself to be at last likely, in company with men like-minded with myself, to be acting in defence of our country. Let your first care be your health: next, if it seems to you possible, make use of the villas farthest removed from men in arms. You can with advantage use the place at Arpinum with your town establishment, if the price of food goes up. Our charming young Cicero sends his warmest love. Good-bye, good-bye.

7 June.

APPENDIX

THE ACTA PUBLICA

RECORDS of the proceedings of the senate, the *comitia*, and the courts had always been kept by the magistrates or officials concerned, just as those of the sacred colleges. These records no doubt could be consulted, but the duty of the officials concerned was limited to the depositing and safe keeping of them : they were not charged with making them known to the public. A change in this respect was one of the first acts of Cæsar in his consulship of B.C. 59. He ordered that all official acts of the people, as well as those of the senate, should be collected and made public (*ut tam senatus quam populi diurna acta conferent et publicarentur*, Suet. *Iul.* 20). It is only after that year, therefore, that mention of them occurs in the correspondence. There does not seem any proof that these *acta* were officially promulgated in the provinces. Rather, it seems that the magistrates, as well as others who were abroad, made their arrangements with certain scribes in Rome to copy the official announcements and forward them, and Cicero constantly assumes that such persons receive them (see *Fam.* 12, 8 ; 12, 22, § 1 ; 12, 23, § 2 ; 12, 28, § 3). When Cicero refers to them simply as *acta*, he seems always to mean the *acta* of the senate (see vol. i., pp. 146, 163, 207). When he means other *acta*—such as elections, laws, or trials—he speaks of them as *acta urbana*, or *rerum urbanarum acta* (vol. ii., p. 151 ; cp. *Fam.* 12, 23, p. 187). Besides this, Cicero had had a private arrangement with Cælius to cause a budget of news to be made up for him periodically. This contained all kinds of gossip, social as well as political (see vol. ii., pp. 15, 33, 177). Cæsar appears to have had also a special report made to him of the *acta diurna* (see Letter CCCCLXX, *Fam.* 9, 16, § 4), a practice continued by Augustus, who, however, stopped the publication of the *acta senatus* (Suet. *Aug.* 36 and 64). During the empire the *acta urbana* contained notice of births and other events in the imperial family (see Suet. *Tib.* 8, *Cal.* 8), as well as a great variety of other facts (see Tac. *Ann.* 12, 24 ; 13, 31). Tiberius not only reintroduced the practice of publishing the *acta senatus*, but appointed a senator specially to edit them (Tac. *Ann.* 5, 4). For

the inclusion of judicial proceedings in the *acta urbana*, see Asconius, *Miloniana*, 19 and 47; cp. Pliny, *Ep.* 7, 33; and of those in a popular assembly, Ascon. 49.

[Other allusions to the *acta senatus* and *acta diurna* will be found in Asconius, 44; Pliny, *Ep.* 9, 15; Seneca, *Benef.* 2, 10; 3, 16; Quintil. 9, 3; Juvenal 2, 136; 7, 104; Ammianus, 22, 3, 4.]

END OF VOL. II.



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